- Labor unions.
- Criminal organizations.
- Community organizations.

B-16. Other organizations may come from outside the AO. Examples of these include—

- Multinational corporations.
- Intergovernmental organizations (IGOs), such as United Nations agencies.
- Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), such as the International Red Cross.

B-17. Operations often require commanders to coordinate with IGOs and NGOs. Information required for evaluation includes these groups' activities, capabilities, and limitations. Situational understanding includes knowing how the activities of different organizations may affect military operations and how military operations may affect these organizations' activities. From this analysis, commanders can determine how organizations and military forces can work together toward common goals.

Table B-2. Examples of important structures

- **Government centers—**necessary for the government to function.
- **Headquarters and bases for security forces—**necessary for security forces to function.
- **Police stations, courthouses, and jails—**necessary for countering crime and beneficial for counterinsurgency operations.
- **Communications and media infrastructure—**important to information flow and the opinions of the populace. These include the following:
  - **Radio towers**.
  - **Television stations**.
  - **Cellular towers**.
  - **Newspaper offices**.
  - **Printing presses**.
- **Roads and bridges—**allow for movement of people, goods, insurgents, and counterinsurgents.
- **Ports of entry, such as airports and seaports—**allow for movement of people, goods, insurgents, and counterinsurgents.
- **Dams—**provide electric power, drinking water, and flood control.
- **Electrical power stations and substations—**enable the economy's functioning and often important for day-to-day life of the populace.
- **Refineries and other sources of fuel—**enable the economy's functioning and often important for day-to-day life of the populace.
- **Sources of potable water—**important for public health.
- **Sewage systems—**important for public health.
- **Clinics and hospitals—**important for the health of the populace; these often are protected sites.
- **Schools and universities—**affect the opinions of the populace; these often are protected sites.
- **Places of religious worship—**affect opinions of the populace; often of great cultural importance; these often are protected sites.

B-18. In almost every case, military forces have more resources than civilian organizations. However, some civilian organizations possess specialized capabilities that they may be willing to share. Commanders do not command civilian organizations in their AOs. However some operations require achieving unity of effort with these groups. These situations require commanders to influence the leaders of these organizations through persuasion, relying on the force of argument and the example of actions.

People

B-19. *People* refers to nonmilitary personnel encountered by military forces. The term includes all civilians within an AO (the populace) as well as those outside the AO whose actions, opinions, or political influence can affect the mission. To display different aspects of the populace, analysts can use population support overlays and religion, race, and ethnicity overlays. (FMI 2-91.4 contains information about these overlays.) Perception is another significant people factor in COIN. The perception assessment matrix is a tool that compares the intent of friendly operations to the populace's perception of those operations.

Population Support Overlay

B-20. The population support overlay can graphically depict the sectors of the populace that are progovernment, antigovernment, proinsurgent, anti-insurgent, uncommitted, and neutral. (See figure B-2.) These overlays are important because they help analysts determine whether the local populace is likely support the HN government or support the insurgency.

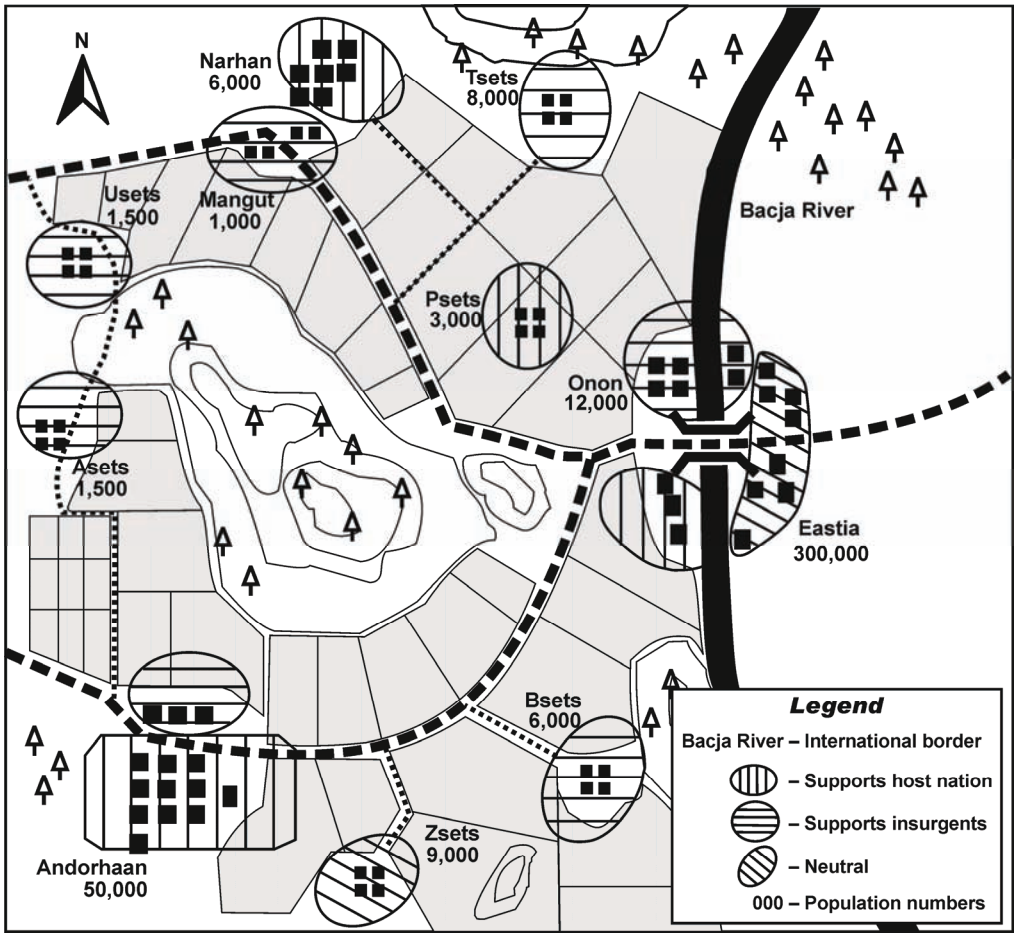

Figure B-2. Example population support overlay

Religion, Race, and Ethnicity Overlay

B-21. Religion, race, and ethnicity issues often contribute to conflicts. Religious, race, and ethnicity overlays depict the current ethnic and religious make-up of an AO. These overlays can also display any specific religious-, racial-, or ethnicity-specific areas and any zones of separation agreed upon by peace accords. These three overlays may be separate or combined. (Figure B-3 shows an example of an ethnicity overlay.)

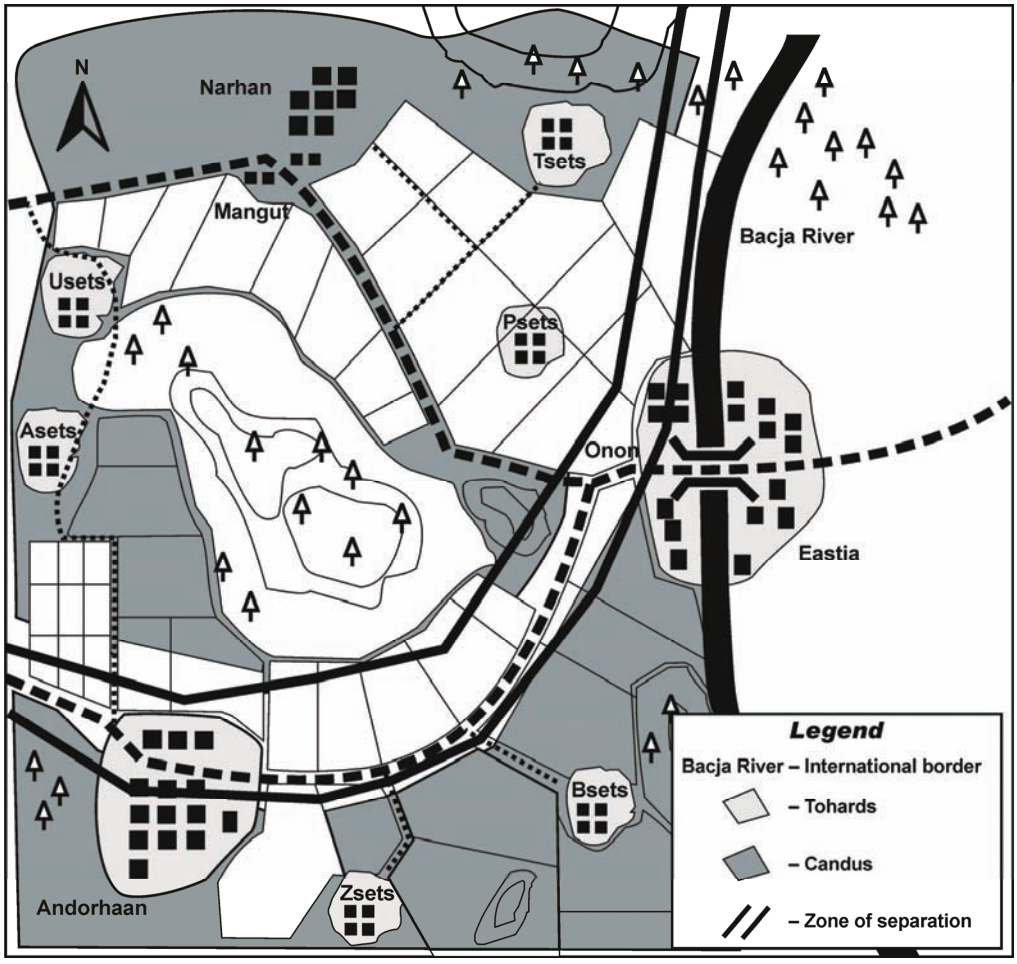

Figure B-3. Example ethnicity overlay

Perception Assessment Matrix

B-22. Perceptions influence how insurgents are targeted and engaged. Important considerations include how insurgents perceive counterinsurgents, themselves, their environment, the nature and reasons for the conflict, and their success criteria. Perception is complicated but key to successfully targeting, engaging, and evaluating success. In-depth knowledge and understanding of the national, regional, and local cultures, norms, moralities, and taboos are needed to understand the operational environment and reactions of the insurgents and populace.

B-23. Perception assessment matrices are often used by psychological operations personnel and other staff elements and can be a valuable tool for intelligence analysts. (See figure B-4 [page B-9].) Counterinsurgent activities intended to be benign or benevolent might have negative results if the populace's perceptions are not considered, and then evaluated or measured. This is true because perceptions—more than reality—drive a commander's decision making and can influence the populace's reactions. A perception assessment matrix displays how well counterinsurgents are able to achieve an effect during an operation. In this sense,

the matrix can be used to directly display the effectiveness of the unit's civil affairs, public affairs, and psychological operations efforts.

The Importance of Perceptions in Operation Uphold Democracy

One proposed psychological operations action developed for Operation Uphold Democracy in Haiti in 1994 illustrates why perception assessment is necessary. Before deployment, leaflets were prepared informing the Haitian populace of U.S. intentions. The original leaflet was printed in Dutch, the language of the Haitian elite. However, the one actually used was published in Creole, the official language of Haiti, because an astute team member realized the need to publish to the wider audience.

If a flier in Dutch had been dropped, it could have undermined the American mission to the country in several ways. The majority of the population would have been unable to read the flier. The subsequent deployment of U.S. forces into the country, therefore, could have been perceived as hostile. The mission, which was intended in part to restore equity within Haiti's social structure, could have backfired if the Haitians viewed the Dutch flier as an indication of U.S. favoritism toward the Haitian elite.

B-24. Perception can work against operational objectives. Perceptions should therefore be assessed before and during an operation. It is not possible to read the minds of the local populace; however, there are several means of measuring its perceptions. These include the following:

- Demographic analysis and cultural intelligence are key components of perception analysis.
- Understanding a population's history can help predict expectations and reactions.
- Human intelligence can provide information on perceptions.
- Reactions and key activities can be observed to determine whether people act based on real or perceived conditions.
- Editorial and opinion pieces of relevant newspapers can be monitored for changes in tone or opinion shifts that can steer, or may be reacting to, the opinions of a population group.

B-25. Perception assessment matrices aim to measure the disparities between friendly force actions and what population groups perceive. In addition to assessing the perceptions of the population groups within an AO, commanders may also want to assess the perceptions that their Soldiers and Marines have of unit activities. Assessing counterinsurgents' perceptions can begin to answer the following questions:

- Are counterinsurgents exhibiting Western or American values that the populace does not appreciate?
- Are embedded American beliefs preventing the unit from understanding the HN population or its multinational partners?
- Is what the intelligence and command staff perceives really what is happening?
- Does the populace believe what the unit believes?
- Is there something that is part of the populace's (or a subgroup's) perception that can be detrimental to the unit?

Condition	Cultural norm	Alternative proposed by COIN force	Population's perception	Acceptable difference in perception?	Root of difference	Possible to change perception?	Proposed solution	Possible consequences of unchanged perception
Food shortages	Rice	Meat and potatoes	Inadequate/ inconsiderate	No	Culturally accepted norms/ standards; no known physically detrimental effects	No; logistically restricted	Offer potatoes; seek exchange for rice	Starvation; rioting
Use of guns	Criminal elements carry weapons openly	Confiscate all weapons	Unfair/ population not protected by traditional means	No	Culture/ criminal element provides a measure of security for the local populace	No; population and friendly forces at risk	Psychological operations campaign; weapons turn-in program	Civil unrest; armed backlash
Government structure	Tribal	Hierarchical	Tolerable as long as needs are fulfilled by group in charge	Yes	History	No	Bargain	Unknown
Language	Dual languages: Creole and Dutch	Respect all languages	Unfair/show of favoritism	Yes	History/ national language	Yes	Communicate in all languages when possible	Backlash against elite and friendly forces

Figure B-4. Example perception assessment matrix

Events

B-26. Events are routine, cyclical, planned, or spontaneous activities that significantly affect organizations, people, and military operations. They are often symbols, as described in paragraph 3-51. Examples include the following:

- National and religious holidays.
- Agricultural crop, livestock, and market cycles.
- Elections.
- Civil disturbances.
- Celebrations.

B-27. Other events include disasters from natural, manmade, or technological sources. These create hardships and require emergency responses. Examples of events precipitated by military forces include combat operations, deployments, redeployments, and paydays. Once significant events are determined, it is important to template the events and analyze them for their political, economic, psychological, environmental, and legal implications.

EVALUATE THE THREAT

B-28. Evaluating the threat involves analyzing insurgent organizations, capabilities, and tactics to identify vulnerabilities to exploit. Tools like social network analysis, link diagrams, and association matrices help analysts do this. Other tools such as historical time lines and pattern analysis tools assist in developing event and doctrinal templates to depict enemy tactics.

SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS

B-29. Social network analysis (SNA) is a tool for understanding the organizational dynamics of an insurgency and how best to attack or exploit it. It allows analysts to identify and portray the details of a network structure. Its shows how an insurgency's networked organization behaves and how that connectivity affects its behavior. SNA allows analysts to assess the network's design, how its member may or may not act autonomously, where the leadership resides or how it is distributed among members, and how hierarchical dynamics may mix or not mix with network dynamics.

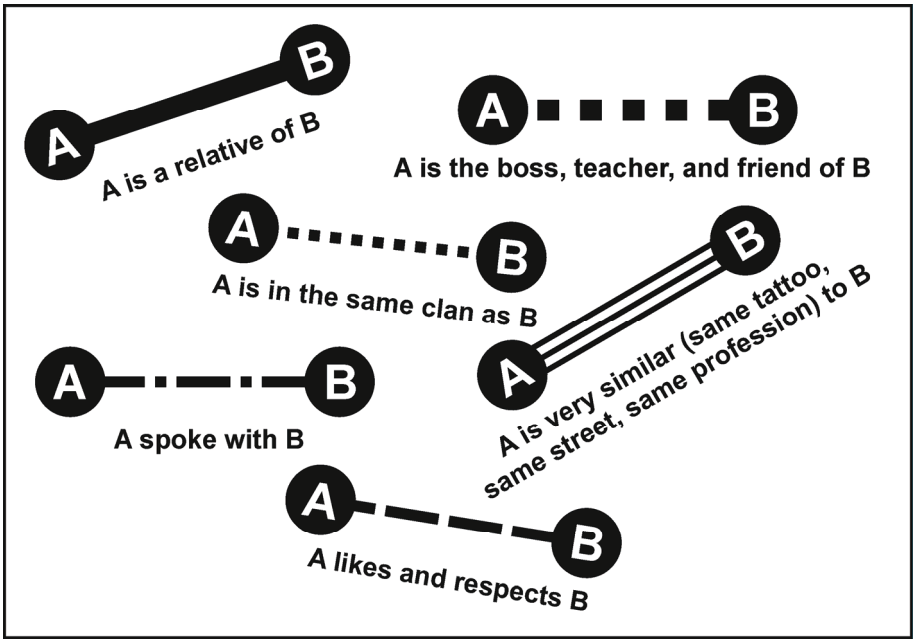

Figure B-5. Examples of dyads

B-30. SNA supports a commander's requirement to describe, estimate, and predict the dynamic structure of an insurgent organization. It also provides commanders a useful tool to gauge their operations' effectiveness. SNA allows analysts assess the insurgency's adaptation to the operational environment and friendly operations.

Social Network Analysis—Terms and Concepts

B-31. The social network graph is the building block of social network analysis. A social network graph consists of individuals and connections between them. Individuals in a network are called *actors* or *nodes*. (Actor and node are often used interchangeably.) The contacts between nodes are called *links*. The basic element of a social network graph is the *dyad*. A dyad consists of two nodes and a single link. In the simplest form of a network, the two nodes represent people and the link represents a relationship between them. (See figure B-5.)

B-32. *Social network measures* allow units to analyze and describe networks. They fall into two categories: organizational-level and individual-level.

Organizational-Level Analysis

B-33. *Organizational-level analysis* provides insight about the insurgent organization's form, efficiency, and cohesion. A regional insurgency may consist of large numbers of disconnected subinsurgencies. As a result, each group should be analyzed based on its capacities as compared to the other groups. Organizational-level capacities can be described in terms of network density, cohesion, efficiency, and core-periphery. Each measure describes a characteristic of a networked organization's structure. Different network structures can support or hinder an organization's capabilities. Therefore, each organizational measure supports the analyst's assessment of subgroup capabilities.

B-34. *Network density* is a general indicator of how connected people are in the network. Network or global-level density is the proportion of ties in a network relative to the total number possible. Comparing network densities between insurgent subgroups provides commanders with an indication of which group is most capable of a coordinated attack and which group is the most difficult to disrupt. (Figure B-6 shows three networks with different densities.)

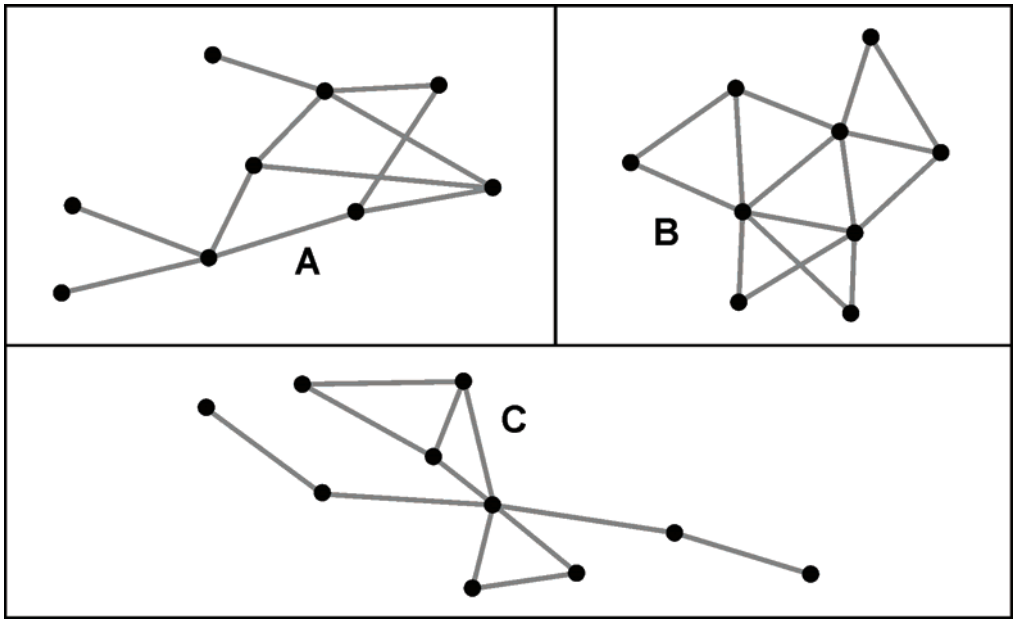

Figure B-6. Comparison of network densities

B-35. Most network measures, including network density, can be mapped out to evaluate performance over time. Based on changes in network density over time, a commander can—

- Monitor enemy capabilities.
- Monitor the effects of recent operations.
- Develop tactics to further fragment the insurgency.

B-36. An increase in network density indicates the likelihood that the insurgent group can conduct coordinated attacks. A decrease in network density means the group is reduced to fragmented or individual-level attacks. (Figure B-7 illustrates an example of how tactics and activities can change based on network density.) A well-executed COIN eventually faces only low-network-density subgroups. This is because high-network-density subgroups require only the capture of one highly connected insurgent to lead counterinsurgents to the rest of the group. So while high-network-density groups are the most dangerous, they are also the easiest to defeat and disrupt.

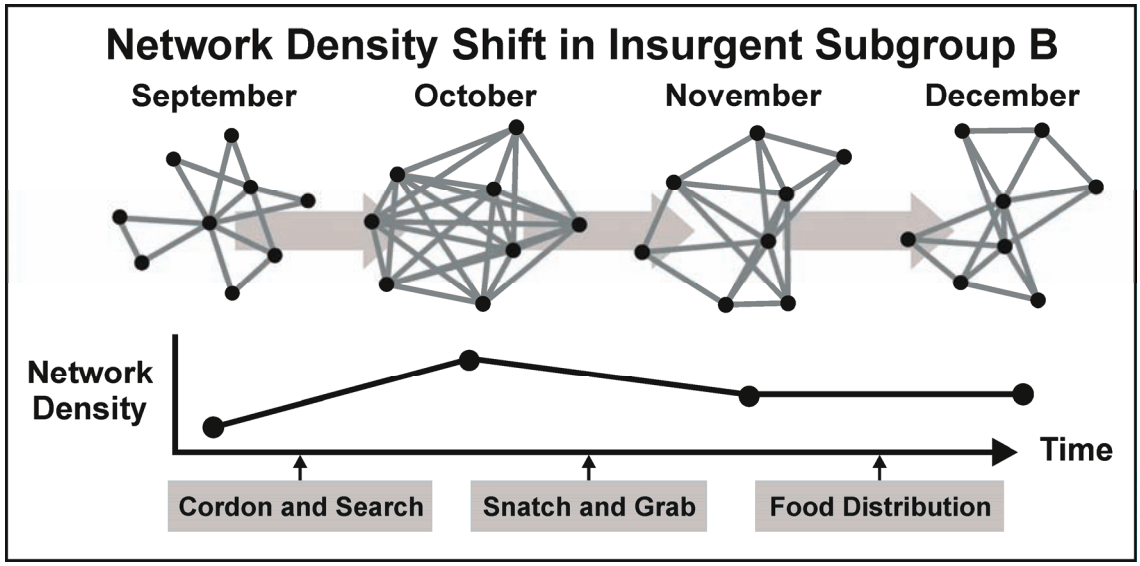

Figure B-7. Example of changes to tactics based on density shift

B-37. Network density does not consider how distributed the connections are between the nodes in a network. Better metrics of group and organizational performance would be network centrality, core-periphery, and diameter. A few nodes with a high number of connections can push up the group network density, even though the majority of the people nodes are only marginally linked to the group. In the case of a highly centralized network dominated by one or a few very connected nodes, these nodes can be removed or damaged to fragment the group further into subnetworks.

B-38. A fully connected network like the one figure B-8 portrays is an unlikely description of the enemy insurgent order of battle. A regional insurgency can be fragmented within itself.

B-39. Sometimes a region may actually contain multiple subinsurgencies that are either unaware of, or even competing with, other subinsurgent groups. In this case, the insurgency resembles a fragmented network. (See figure B-9.)

Individual-Level Analysis

B-40. *Individual-level analysis* characterizes every member of an organization and identifies its key members. Effective SNA allows analysts to identify key individuals from a large mass of data. SNA describes individuals based on their network position in relation to the network position of every other individual in the network. Descriptions are in terms of the following individual-level measures: degree centrality, betweenness centrality, and diameter. Individual network centralities provide insight into an individual's lo-

cation in the network. The relationship between the centralities of all nodes can reveal much about the overall network structure.

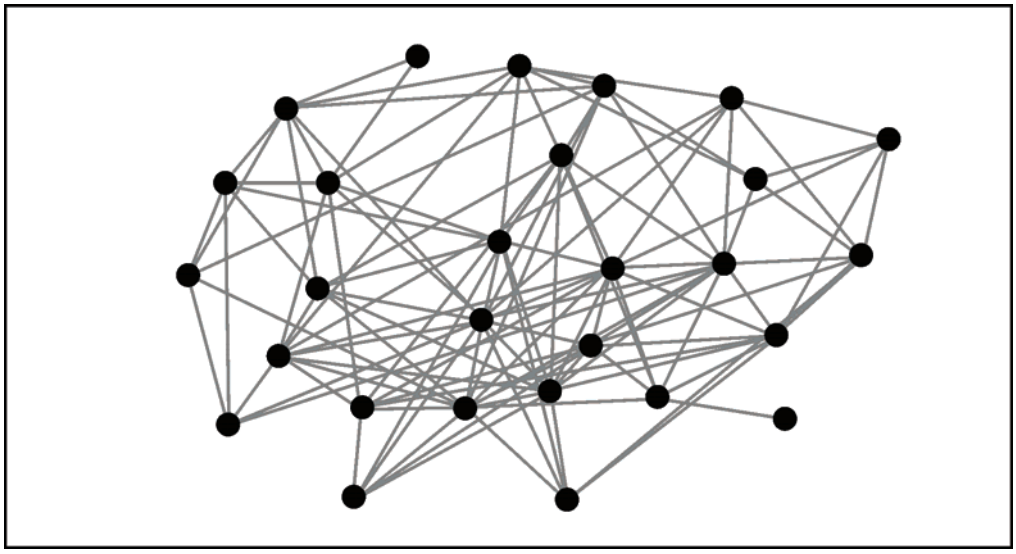

Figure B-8. Networked organization with high connections

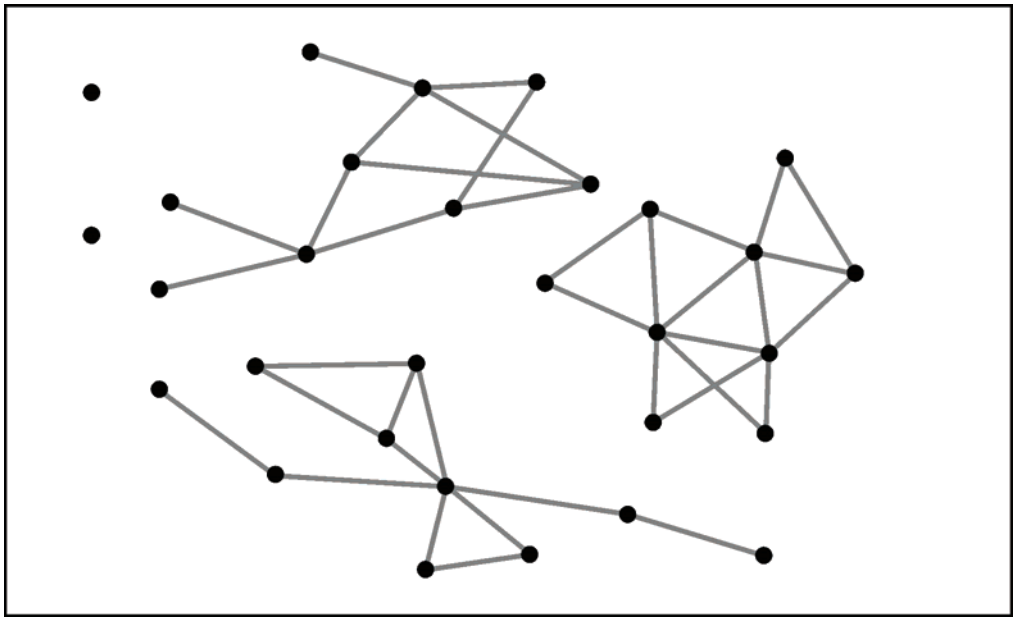

Figure B-9. Fragmented network

B-41. One node or a very few central nodes dominate a very centralized network. If these nodes are removed or damaged, the network may quickly fragment into unconnected subnetworks. *Hubs* are nodes with a very high degree of centrality. A network centralized around a well-connected hub can fail abruptly if that hub is disabled or removed.

B-42. A less centralized network has no single points of failure. It is resilient in the face of many intentional attacks or random failures. Many nodes or links can fail while allowing the remaining nodes to still reach each other over other, redundant network paths.

B-43. *Degree centrality* describes how active an individual is in the network. Network activity for a node is measured using the concept of degrees—the number of direct connections a node has. Nodes with the most direct connections are the most active in their networks. Common wisdom in organizations is "the more connections, the better." This is not always so. What really matters is where those connections lead and how they connect the otherwise unconnected. If a node has many ties, it is often said to be either prominent or influential.

B-44. *Betweenness centrality* indicates the extent to which an individual lies between other individuals in the network, serving as an intermediary, liaison, or bridge. A node with high "betweenness" has great influence over what flows in the network. Depending on position, a person with high betweenness plays a "broker" role in the network. A major opportunity exists for counterinsurgents if, as in group C of figure B-6 (page B-11), the high betweenness centrality person is also a single point of failure which, if removed, would fragment the organization.

B-45. Nodes on the periphery receive very low centrality scores. However, peripheral nodes are often connected to networks that are not currently mapped. The outer nodes may be resource gatherers or individuals with their own network outside their insurgent group. These characteristics make them very important resources for fresh information not available inside their insurgent group.

The Capture of Saddam Hussein

The capture of Saddam Hussein in December 2003 was the result of hard work along with continuous intelligence gathering and analysis. Each day another piece of the puzzle fell into place. Each led to coalition forces identifying and locating more of the key players in the insurgent network—both highly visible ones like Saddam Hussein and the lesser ones who sustained and supported the insurgency. This process produced detailed diagrams that showed the structure of Hussein's personal security apparatus and the relationships among the persons identified.

The intelligence analysts and commanders in the 4th Infantry Division spent the summer of 2003 building link diagrams showing everyone related to Hussein by blood or tribe. Those family diagrams led counterinsurgents to the lower level, but nonetheless highly trusted, relatives and clan members harboring Hussein and helping him move around the countryside. The circle of bodyguards and mid-level military officers, drivers, and gardeners protecting Hussein was described as a "Mafia organization," where access to Hussein controlled relative power within the network.

Over days and months, coalition forces tracked how the enemy operated. Analysts traced trends and patterns, examined enemy tactics, and related enemy tendencies to the names and groups on the tracking charts. This process involved making continual adjustments to the network template and constantly determining which critical data points were missing.

Late in the year, a series of operations produced an abundance of new intelligence about the insurgency and Hussein's whereabouts. Commanders then designed a series of raids to capture key individuals and leaders of the former regime who could lead counterinsurgents to him. Each mission gained additional information, which shaped the next raid. This cycle continued as a number of mid-level leaders of the former regime were caught, eventually leading coalition forces into Hussein's most trusted inner circle and finally to Hussein's capture.

Social Network Analysis and Counterinsurgency

B-46. Figure B-10 shows a simple, social network of key individuals and relationships. The nodes in this data set are from a modified, subnetwork of the link diagram representing Saddam Hussein and his connections to various family members, former regime members, friends, and associates. The original diagram

contained hundreds of names and took shape on a large 36-by-36-inch board. Each "box" in the network contained personal information on a particular individual. This information included roles and positions of certain people within the network—for example, chief of staff, chief of operations, and personal secretary. These were not necessarily positions the individuals occupied before the fall of Hussein; rather they were based on an understanding of the role they were filling in the insurgency or Saddam's underground operations. Analysts assigned these roles based on an assessment of various personalities and recent reports. Such a process helped coalition forces focus their efforts in determining those who were closest to Hussein and their importance.

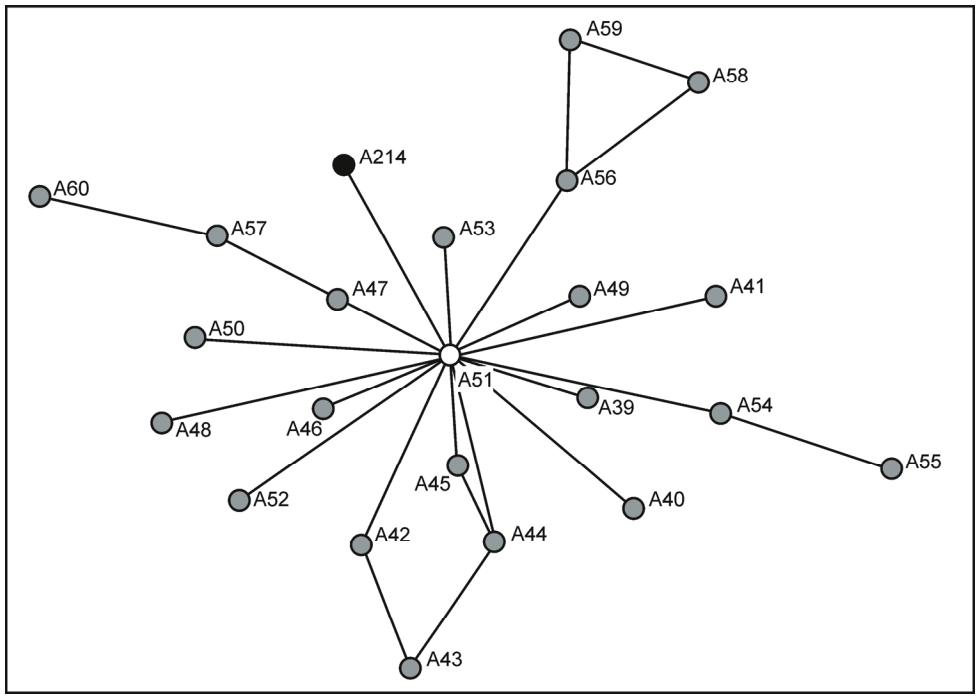

Figure B-10. Simple network

B-47. For an insurgency, a social network is not just a description of who is in the insurgent organization; it is a picture of the population, how it is put together and how members interact with one another. A tribal society already has affiliated social, economic, and military networks easily adapted to warfighting. The ways in which insurgents exploit a tribal network does not represent an evolved form of insurgency but the expression of inherent cultural and social customs. The social dynamic that sustains ongoing fighting is best understood when considered in tribal terms—in particular, from the perspective of a traditionally networked society. It is the traditional tribal network that offers rebels and insurgents a ready-made insurrectionary infrastructure on which to draw.

B-48. The full functioning of a network depends on how well, and in what ways, its members are personally known and connected to one another. This is the classic level of SNA, where strong personal ties, often ones that rest on friendship and bonding experiences, ensure high degrees of trust and loyalty. To function well, networks may require higher degrees of interpersonal trust than do other approaches to organization, like hierarchies. Kinship ties, be they of blood or brotherhood, are a fundamental aspect of many terrorist, criminal, and gang organizations. For example, news about Osama bin Laden and the Al Qaeda network reveal his, and its, dependence on personal relationships formed over years with "Afghan Arabs" from Egypt and elsewhere. These people are committed to anti-United States terrorism and Islamic fundamentalism.

B-49. To draw an accurate picture of a network, units need to identify ties among its members. Strong bonds formed over time by family, friendship, or organizational association characterize these ties. Units gather information on these ties by analyzing historical documents and records, interviewing individuals,

and studying photos and books. It is painstaking work, but there is really no alternative when trying to piece together a network that does not want to be identified. Charts and diagrams lead to understanding the insurgents' means of operations. These same diagrams are also useful for understanding tribal, family, NGO, and transnational terrorist elements. Each diagram and chart may have links to another or several others, but they are not created overnight. It takes time, patience, detailed patrolling, and reporting and recording of efforts.

B-50. As a unit builds its situational awareness, it must create easy-to-understand, adaptable, and accurate diagrams and information sheets. These products feed one another and allow units to maintain and contribute to their understanding of the situation.

B-51. As commanders dispatch patrols to collect information, they can begin to build a graph of the population in the AO. As graphs grow, they may show that traditional, static organizational line charts do not produce viable explanations of insurgent organizational behavior. Individual insurgents may be constantly adapting to the operational environment, their own capabilities, and counterinsurgent tactics. A commander's understanding of the insurgency is only as good as the patrol's last collection.

B-52. Relationships (links) in large data sets are established by similarities between the nodes (people). Figure B-11 shows an example *activities matrix*. People are identified by their participation in independent activities. When graphed, pairs who have engaged in the same activity (columns with dots) are designated with a link.

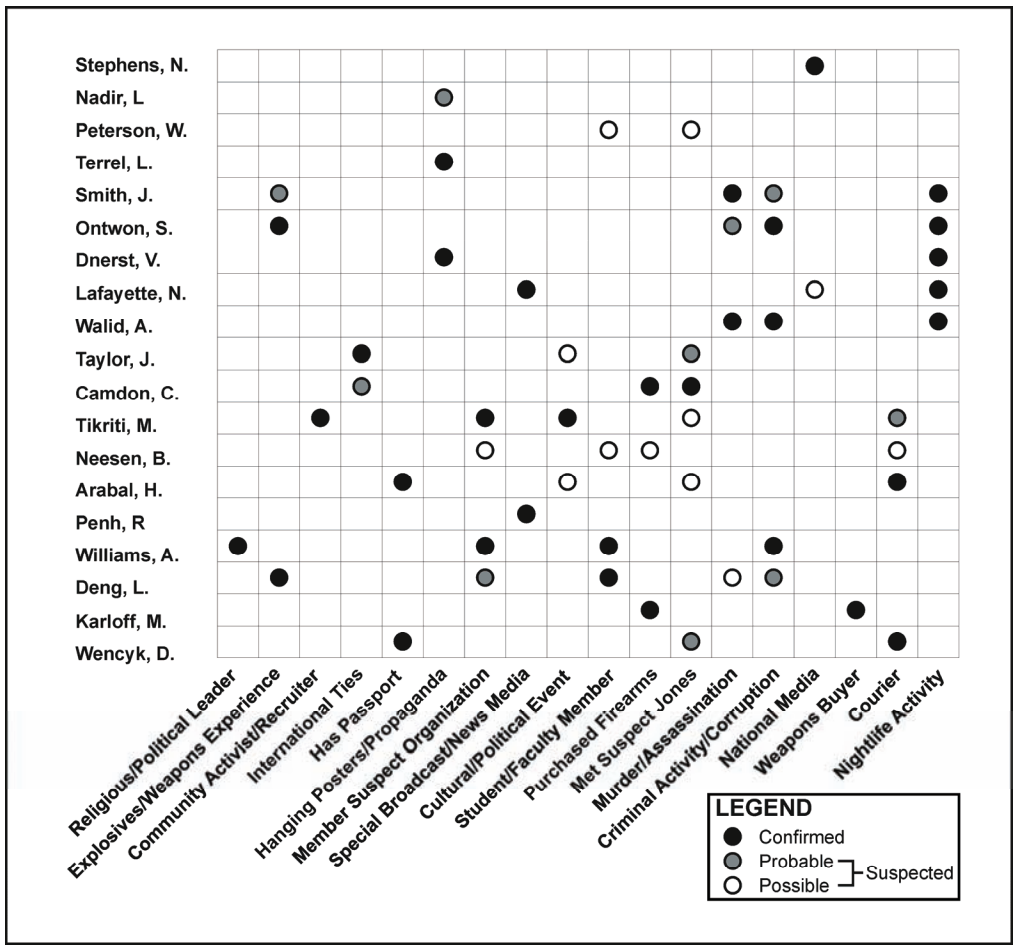

Figure B-11. Example activities matrix

B-53. An *association matrix* portrays the existence of an association, known or suspected, between individuals. (See figure B-12.) Direct connections include such things as face-to-face meetings and confirmed telephonic conversations. Association matrices provide a one-dimensional view of the relationships and tend to focus on the immediate AO. Analysts can use association matrices to identify those personalities and associations needing a more in-depth analysis to determine the degree of relationship, contacts, or knowledge between the individuals. The structure of the insurgent organization is identified as connections between personalities are made.

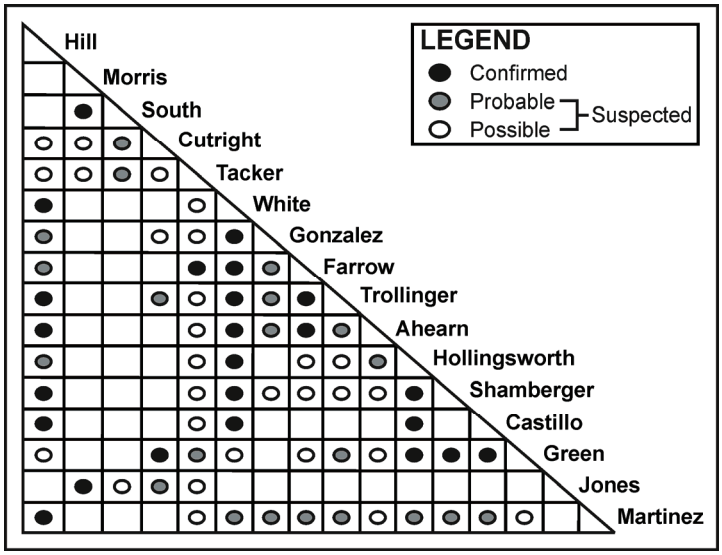

Figure B-12. Example association matrix

Social Network Analysis Summary

B-54. Insurgents often form a networked organization embedded in a sympathetic population. Differentiating between insurgents, insurgent supporters, neutrals, and the HN government supporters is difficult. With every counterinsurgent success, the insurgent organization becomes further fragmented but remains dangerous.

B-55. SNA helps units formalize the informality of insurgent networks by portraying the structure of something not readily observed. Network concepts let commanders highlight the structure of a previously unobserved association by focusing on the preexisting relationships and ties that bind together such groups. By focusing on roles, organizational positions, and prominent or influential actors, commanders may get a sense of how the organization is structured and thus how the group functions, how members are influenced and power exerted, and how resources are exchanged.

B-56. COIN operations require assessing the political and social architecture of the operational environment, from both friendly and enemy perspectives. SNA can help commanders understand how an insurgent organization operates. Insurgent networks often do not behave like normal social networks. However, SNA can help commanders determine what kind of social network an insurgent organization is. That knowledge helps commanders understand what the network looks like, how it is connected, and how best to defeat it.

HISTORICAL TIME LINE

B-57. A *time line* is list of significant dates along with relevant information and analysis. Time lines seek to provide a context to operational conditions. (See figure B-13.) Time lines often contain information related to areas and people as well as events. Some time lines describe population movements (areas) and political shifts (power and authority) that are relevant to the AO. Time lines can also include a brief historical record of the population or area, highlighting the activities (events) of a certain population sector. As analytic tools, time lines might help analysts predict how key population sectors might react to certain circumstances.

B-58. Key local national holidays, historic events, and significant cultural and political events can be extremely important. Soldiers and Marines are often provided with a list of these key dates to identify potential dates of increased or unusual activity. These lists, however, rarely include a description of why these dates are significant and what can be expected to happen on the holiday. In some cases, days of the week are significant.

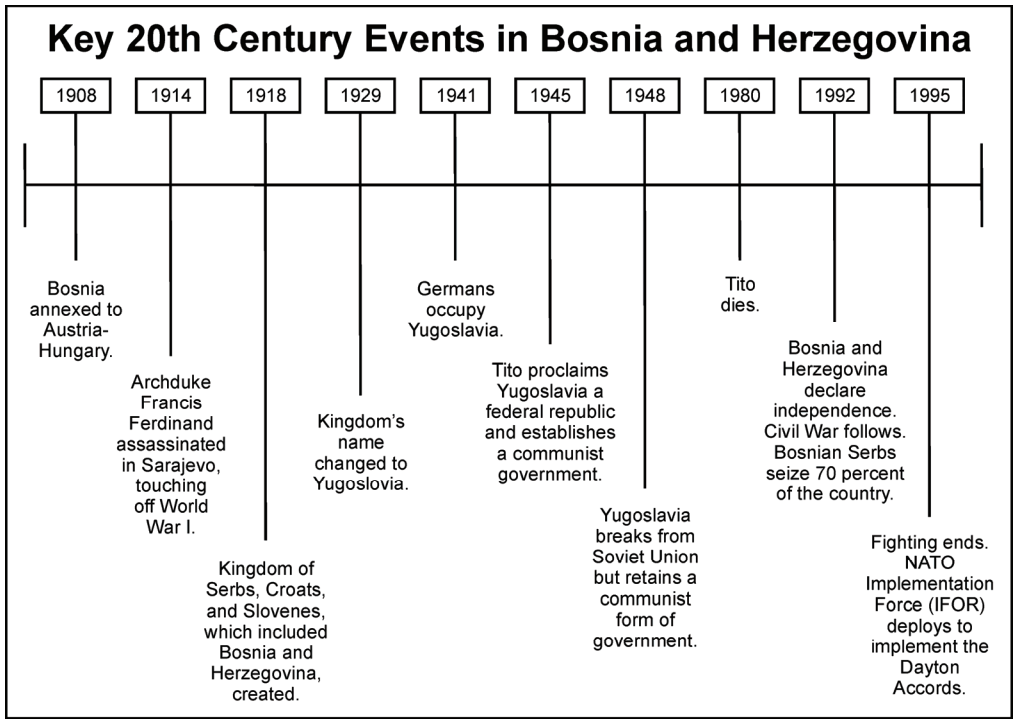

Figure B-13. Example historical time line

PATTERN ANALYSIS

B-59. Pattern analysis plot sheets, time-event charts, and coordinates registers are pattern analysis tools used to evaluate a threat and determine threat courses of action. (FM 2-22.3 discusses how use these tools.)

Pattern Analysis Plot Sheet

B-60. Pattern analysis plot sheets focus on the time and date of each serious incident that occurs within the AO. (See figure B-14.) The rings depict days of the month; the segments depict the hours of the day. As shown in the plot sheet's legend, the chart depicts the actual events and identifies each by using an alphanumeric designation that corresponds to the legend used on the coordinates register. (See paragraph B-61.) Another type of pattern analysis plot sheet helps distinguish patterns in activities associated with particular days, dates, or times. When used in conjunction with the coordinates register and doctrinal templates, a pat-

tern analysis plot sheet supplies most of the data needed for an event template. Analysts may choose to modify this product to track shorter periods to avoid clutter and confusion.

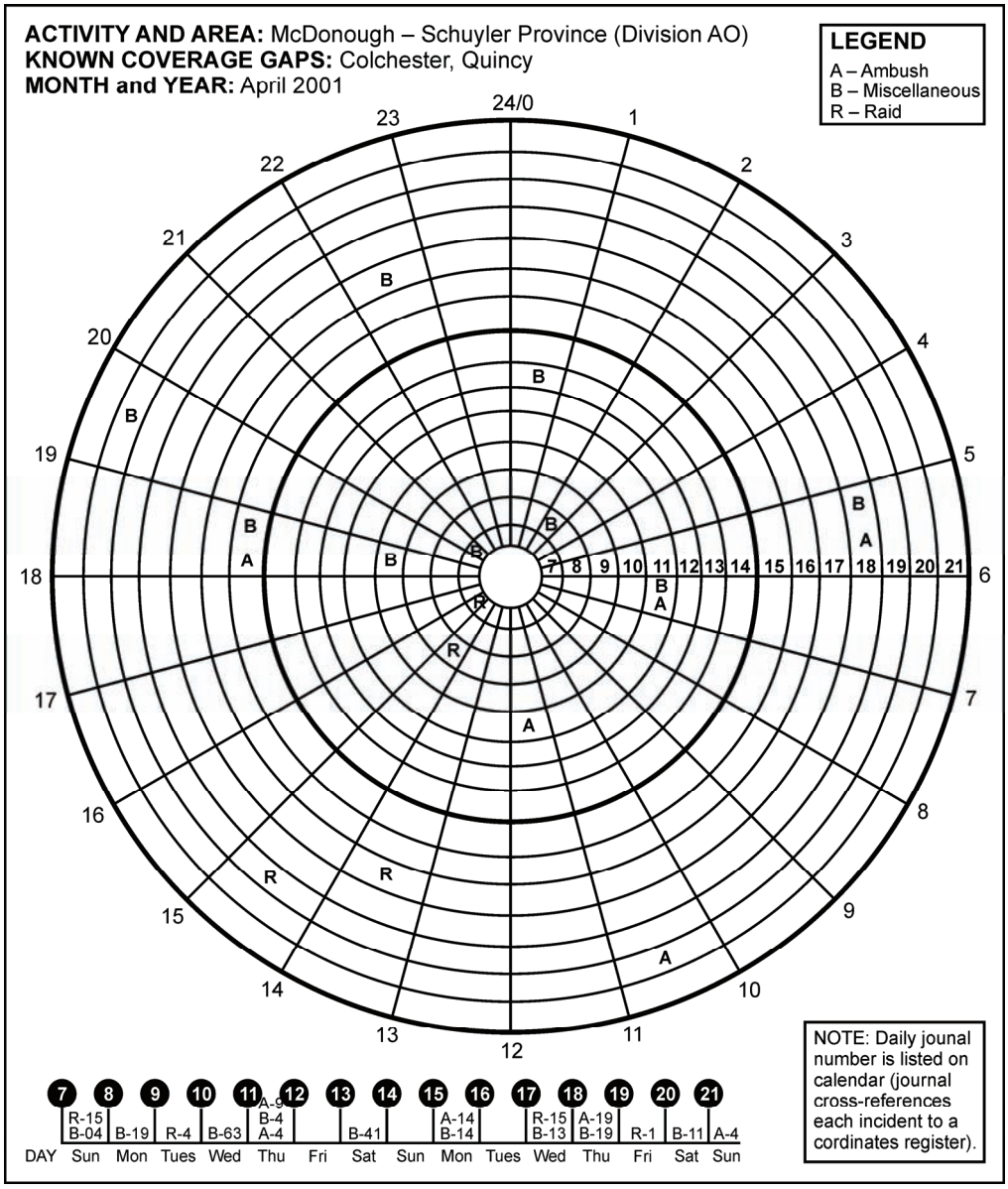

Figure B-14. Example pattern analysis plot sheet

Coordinates Register

B-61. Another pattern analysis tool is the coordinates register, also known as an incident map. (See figure B-15.) A coordinates register illustrates cumulative events that have occurred within an AO. It focuses on the "where" of an event. Analysts may use multiple coordinates registers, each focusing on an individual subject or a blend of subjects. Additionally, a coordinates register includes information like notes or graphics. Analysts should always use the coordinates register in with the pattern analysis plot sheet.

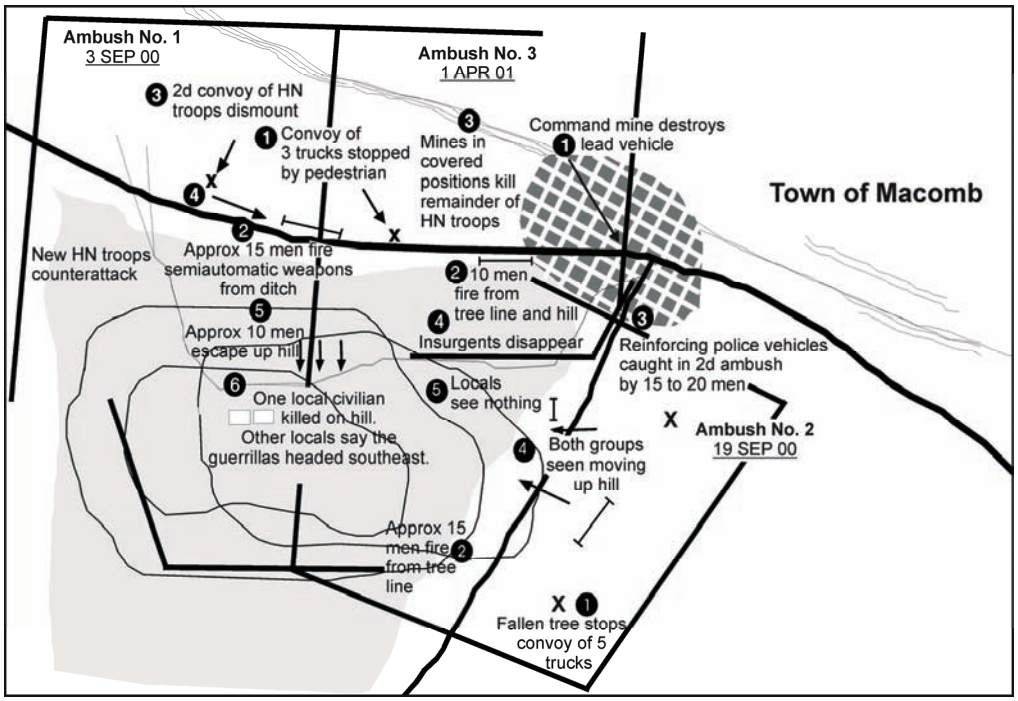

Figure B-15. Example coordinates register

Link Diagrams

B-62. The link diagram graphically depicts relationships between people, events, locations, or other factors deemed significant in any given situation. (See Figure B-16.) Link diagrams help analysts better understand how people and factors are interrelated in order to determine key links. (For more information on link diagrams, see FM 2-22.3.)

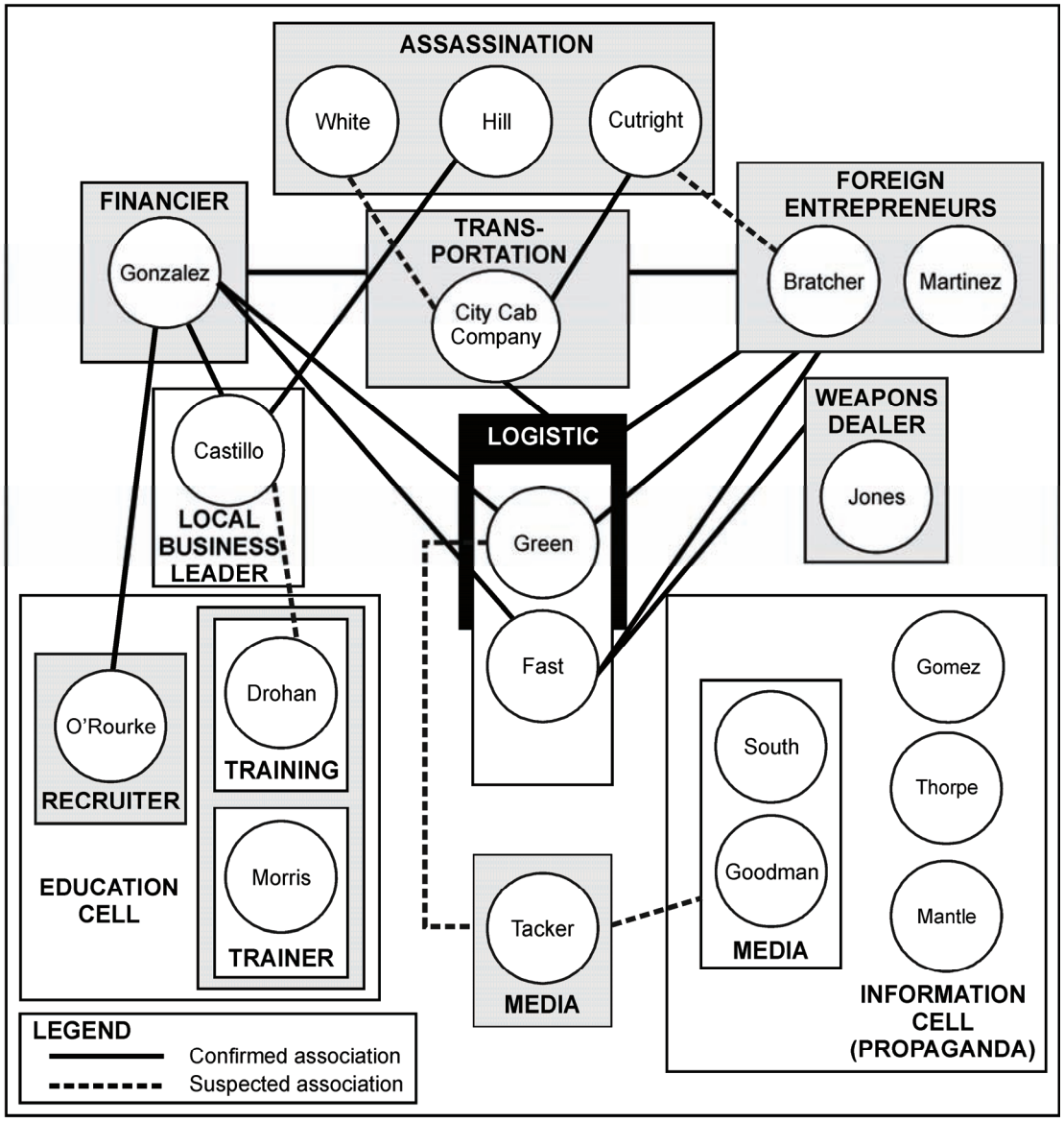

Figure B-16. Example link diagram

Time-Event Charts

B-63. Time-event charts are chronological records of individual or group activities. They are designed to store and display large amounts of information in a small space. Analysts can use time-event charts to help analyze larger scale patterns of such things as activities and relationships. There is great latitude in preparing time-event charts. Some of their common characteristics are as follows:

- The beginning and ends of the chart are shown with triangles.
- Other events are shown with squares.
- Particularly noteworthy events have an X drawn across the square.
- The date is always on the symbol.
- A description is below the symbol.
- The flow is from left to right for each row.

(Figure B-17 is an example showing events surrounding the plot to attack several landmarks in New York City in the early 1990s.)

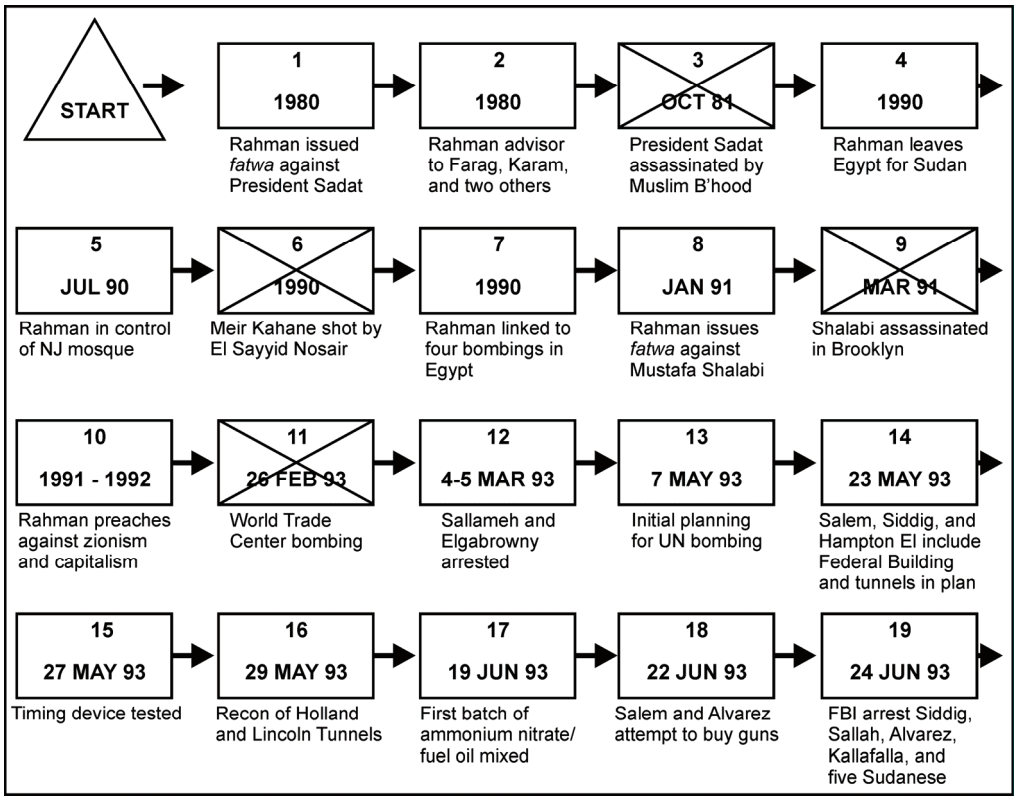

Figure B-17. Example time-event chart

Appendix C

Linguist Support

U.S. forces conducting counterinsurgency operations in foreign nations require linguist support. Military intelligence units assigned to brigade and higher level commands have organic interpreters (linguists) to perform human intelligence and signals intelligence functions. However, the need for interpreters usually exceeds organic capabilities, and commanders should obtain external interpreter support early.

LINGUIST SUPPORT CATEGORIES

C-1. When possible, interpreters should be U.S. military personnel or category II or III linguists. Unit intelligence officers should maintain language rosters at home station to track assigned personnel with linguistic capabilities before deployment. When requirements exceed organic capabilities, unit commanders can hire host-nation (HN) personnel to support their operations. Contracted linguists can provide interpreter support and perform intelligence functions. They fall into three categories.

C-2. *Category I linguists* usually are hired locally and require vetting. They do not have a security clearance. They are the most abundant resource pool; however, their skill level is limited. Category I linguists should be used for basic interpretation for activities such as patrols, base entrance coverage, open-source intelligence collection, and civil-military operations. Commanders should plan for 30 to 40 linguists from category I for an infantry battalion. Brigade headquarters should maintain roughly 15 category I linguists for surge operations.

C-3. *Category II linguists* are U.S. citizens with a secret clearance. Often they possess good oral and written communication skills. They should be managed carefully due to limited availability. Category II linguists interpret for battalion and higher level commanders or tactical human intelligence teams. Brigade commanders should plan for 10 to 15 linguists from category II. That breaks down to one linguist for the brigade commander, one for each infantry battalion commander, and approximately 10 linguists for the supporting military intelligence company. Of those 10, three translate for each tactical human intelligence team or operations management team, and two translate for each signals intelligence collection platform.

C-4. *Category III linguists* are U.S. citizens with a top secret clearance. They are a scarce commodity and often retained at division and higher levels of command. They have excellent oral and written communications skills.

C-5. Some private companies provide linguist support through contracts. The required statement of work or contract should define the linguist's requirements and the unit's responsibilities. Contracted category II and III linguists should provide their own equipment, such as flak vests, Kevlar, and uniforms. (Category I linguists normally do not.) The unit designates a linguist manager to identify language requirements and manage assets. Site managers for the contractor are located at the division level to manage personnel issues such as leave, vacation, pay, and equipment.

C-6. When hiring HN personnel to perform category I linguist requirements as interpreters, units should consider the guidelines under the following categories:

- Selecting interpreters.
- Establishing rapport.
- Orienting interpreters.
- Preparing for presentations.

- Conducting presentations.
- Speaking techniques.

SELECTING INTERPRETERS

C-7. Soldiers and Marines must try to vet interpreters before hiring them. All interpreters must meet a basic set of criteria. They should be native speakers. The target audience should willingly accept their social status. All interpreters should speak English fluently. They should be able to translate correctly. Intelligent translators are mandatory; those with technical knowledge are desired. Interpreters should be reliable, loyal, and compatible with the military personnel. Their gender, age, race, and ethnicity must be compatible with the target audience.

NATIVE SPEAKER

C-8. Interpreters should be native speakers of the socially or geographically determined dialect. Their speech, background, and mannerisms should be completely acceptable to the target audience. The interpreters should not distract the interviewees. The target audience should give no attention to the way interpreters talk, only to what they say. Native speakers can better distinguish dialects of different regions and provinces. This knowledge can help identify interviewees from other countries or from outside the local area.

SOCIAL STATUS AND ETHNO-RELIGIOUS IDENTITY

C-9. If their social standing is considerably lower than that of the audience, interpreters may be limited in their effectiveness. Examples include significant differences in military rank or membership in a shunned ethnic or religious group. Soldiers and Marines must communicate with the local population. They must be tolerant of local prejudices and choose an interpreter who is least likely to cause suspicion or miscommunication. Interpreters should also have a good reputation in the community and not be intimidated when dealing with important audiences.

ENGLISH FLUENCY

C-10. An often overlooked consideration is how well the interpreter speaks English. If the interpreter understands the speaker and the speaker understands the interpreter, then the interpreter's command of English is satisfactory. Soldiers and Marines can check that understanding by speaking something to the interpreter in English and asking the interpreter to paraphrase it.

UNDERSTANDING OF THE AUDIENCE

C-11. Interpreting goes both ways. Interpreters should accurately convey information expressed by interviewees or the target audience. This is especially important when commanders speak with HN civilian leaders and military personnel. Linguists involved in military discussions should understand military terms and doctrine.

INTELLECTUAL CAPABILITIES

C-12. Interpreters should be quick and alert, able to respond to changing conditions and situations. They should be able to grasp complex concepts and discuss them clearly and logically. Although education does not equate to intelligence, it does expose students to diverse and complex topics. As a result, the better educated the interpreters, the better they perform.

TECHNICAL ABILITY

C-13. Sometimes Soldiers and Marines need interpreters with technical training or experience in special subject areas. Such interpreters can translate the meaning as well as the words. For instance, if the subject is nuclear physics, background knowledge is useful.

RELIABILITY

C-14. Soldiers and Marines should avoid a potential interpreter who arrives late for the vetting interview. Throughout the world, the concept of time varies widely. In many countries, timeliness is relatively unimportant. Soldiers and Marines should stress the importance of punctuality with interpreters.

LOYALTY

C-15. If interpreters are local nationals, their first loyalty is probably to the host nation or ethnic group, not to the U.S. military. The security implications are clear. Soldiers should be cautious when they explain concepts. They should limit what information interpreters can overhear. Some interpreters, for political or personal reasons, may have ulterior motives or a hidden agenda. Soldiers and Marines who detect or suspect such motives should tell the commander or security manager.

GENDER, AGE, RACE, AND ETHNICITY

C-16. Gender, age, and race can seriously affect the mission effectiveness of interpreters. In predominantly Muslim countries, cultural prohibitions may cause difficulties with gender. A female interpreter may be ineffective in communicating with males, while a female interpreter may be needed to communicate with females. In regions featuring ethnic strife, such as the Balkans, ethnic divisions may limit the effectiveness of an interpreter from outside the target audience. Since traditions, values, and biases vary from country to country, Soldiers and Marines must thoroughly study the culture to determine the most favorable characteristics for interpreters.

COMPATIBILITY

C-17. The target audience quickly recognizes personality conflicts between Soldiers and Marines and their interpreters. Such friction can undermine the effectiveness of the communication. When selecting interpreters, Soldiers and Marines should look for compatible traits and strive for a harmonious working relationship.

EMPLOYING LINGUISTS

C-18. If several qualified interpreters are available, Soldiers and Marines should select at least two. This is particularly important if the interpreter works during long conferences or courses of instruction. With two interpreters available, they should each work for thirty-minute periods. Due to the mental strain associated with this task, four hours of active interpreting a day is usually the most that interpreters can work before effectiveness declines. During short meetings and conversations with two or more available interpreters, one can provide quality control and assistance for the one translating. This technique is useful when conducting coordination or negotiation meetings, as one interpreter can actively interpret while the other pays attention to the body language and side conversations of the audience. Many times, Soldiers and Marines can learn important auxiliary information from listening to what others are saying among themselves. This information can help in later negotiations.

C-19. Commanders must protect their interpreters. They should emplace security measures to keep interpreters and their families safe. Insurgents know the value of good interpreters and will often try to intimidate or kill interpreters and their family members. Insurgents may also coerce interpreters to gather information on U.S. operations. Soldiers and Marines must actively protect against subversion and espionage, to include using a polygraph.

C-20. Certain tactical situations may require using uncleared HN personnel as interpreters. Commanders should recognize the increased security risk when using such personnel and carefully weigh the risk versus potential gain. If uncleared interpreters are used, Soldiers and Marines must limit discussing sensitive information.

ESTABLISHING RAPPORT

C-21. Interpreters are a vital link among Soldiers, Marines, and the target audience. Without supportive, cooperative interpreters, the mission is jeopardized. Mutual respect and understanding are essential to effective teamwork. Soldiers and Marines should establish rapport early and maintain it throughout the operation. Problems establishing rapport stem mostly from a lack of personal communication skills and misunderstandings regarding culture.

C-22. Before they meet interpreters, Soldiers and Marines study the area of operations and its inhabitants. This process is discussed in chapter 3. Many foreigners have some knowledge about the United States. Unfortunately, much of this comes from commercial movies and television shows. Soldiers and Marines may need to teach the interpreter something realistic about the United States as well.

C-23. Soldiers and Marines working with an interpreter should research and verify the interpreter's background. They should be genuinely interested in the interpreter and the interpreter's family, aspirations, career, and education. Many cultures emphasize family roles differently from the United States, so Soldiers and Marines should first understand the interpreter's home life. Though Soldiers and Marines should gain as much cultural information as possible before deploying, their interpreters can be valuable sources for filling gaps. However, information from interpreters will likely represent the views of the group to which they belong. Members of opposing groups almost certainly see things differently and often view culture and history differently.

C-24. Soldiers and Marines should gain an interpreter's trust and confidence before discussing sensitive issues. These issues include religion, likes, dislikes, and prejudices. Soldiers and Marines should approach these topics carefully. Although deeply held personal beliefs may be revealing and useful in a professional relationship, Soldiers and Marines should draw these out of their interpreters gently and tactfully.

C-25. One way to reinforce the bond between military personnel and their interpreter is to make sure the interpreter has every available comfort. This includes providing personal protection equipment—boots, helmets, and body armor—that the interpreter (especially a category I interpreter) may not already have. Soldiers and Marines must give interpreters the same comforts that military personnel enjoy. Interpreters need the same base comforts—shelter, air conditioning, and heat—as military personnel. If and when an interpreter is assigned to a specific unit, the interpreter ought to live with that organization to develop a bond. If there are several interpreters, it may be more effective for the interpreters to live together on the unit compound.

ORIENTING INTERPRETERS

C-26. Early in the relationship, Soldiers and Marines must explain to interpreters their duties, expected standards of conduct, interview techniques, and any other requirements and expectations. (Table C-1 lists some information to include when orienting interpreters.)

PREPARING FOR PRESENTATIONS

C-27. Sites for interviews, meetings, or classes should be carefully selected and arranged. The physical arrangement can be especially significant for certain groups or cultures.

C-28. Speakers should understand unique cultural practices before interviewing, instructing, or talking with foreign nationals. For example, speakers and interpreters should know when to stand, sit, or cross one's legs. Gestures are a learned behavior and vary from culture to culture. If properly selected, interpreters should be helpful in this regard.

C-29. Interpreters should mirror the speaker's tone and personality. They must not add their own questions or emotions. Speakers should instruct interpreters to inform them discreetly if they notice inconsistencies or peculiarities of speech, dress, and behavior.

Table C-1. Orientation for interpreters

Background for the interpreter includes—
• The current tactical situation. • Information on the source, interviewee, or target audience. • Specific objectives for the interview, meeting, or interrogation. • The conduct of the interview, lesson, or interrogation. • The physical arrangements of interviewing site, if applicable.
Duties of the interpreter include—
• Informing the interviewer about inconsistencies the interviewee uses in language. An example would be someone who claims to be a college professor, yet speaks like an uneducated person. • Possibly assisting in after-action reviews or assessments.
Interview techniques for the interpreter include—
• Simultaneous—when the interpreter listens and translates at the same time (not recommended). • Consecutive—when the interpreter listens to an entire phrase, sentence, or paragraph, and then translates during natural pauses.
Standards of conduct for the interpreter include—
• Being careful not to inject their personality, ideas, or questions. • Mirroring the speaker's tone and personality. • Translating the exact meaning without adding or deleting information.

C-30. Soldiers and Marines must carefully analyze the target audience. This analysis goes beyond the scope of this appendix. Mature judgment, thoughtful consideration of the target audience as individuals, and a genuine concern for their receiving accurate information helps Soldiers and Marines accomplish the mission. Soldiers and Marines should remember, for example, that a farmer from a small village has markedly different expectations and requirements than a city executive.

C-31. Soldiers and Marines who work through an interpreter may take double or triple the time normally required for an event. They may save time if they give the interpreter pertinent information beforehand. This information may include briefing slides, questions to ask, a lesson plan, copies of any handouts, or a glossary of difficult terms.

CONDUCTING PRESENTATIONS

C-32. As part of the initial training for interpreters, Soldiers and Marines emphasize that interpreters follow their speaker's lead. They become a vital communication link between the speaker and target audience. Soldiers and Marines should appeal to the interpreter's professional pride. They clarify how the quality and quantity of the information sent and received directly depends on linguistic skills. Although interpreters perform some editing as a function of the interpreting process, they must transmit the exact meaning without additions or deletions.

C-33. Speakers should avoid simultaneous translations—the speaker and interpreter talking at the same time—when conducting an interview or presenting a lesson. They should talk directly to the individual or audience for a minute or less in a neutral, relaxed manner. The interpreter should watch the speaker carefully. While translating, the interpreter should mimic the speaker's body language as well as interpret verbal meaning. Speakers should observe interpreters closely to detect any inconsistent behaviors. After speakers present one major thought in its entirety, interpreters then reconstruct it in their language. One way to ensure that the interpreter is communicating exactly what the speaker means is to have a senior in-

terpreter observe several conversations. The senior interpreter can provide feedback along with further training.

C-34. Soldiers and Marines should be aware that some interpreters might attempt to save face or to protect themselves by concealing their lack of understanding. They may translate what they believe the speaker or audience said or meant without asking for clarification. This situation can result in misinformation and confusion. It can also impact the speaker's credibility. Interpreters must know that when in doubt they should always ask for clarification.

C-35. During an interview or lesson, if the interviewee asks questions, interpreters should immediately relay them to the speaker for an answer. Interpreters should never attempt to answer questions, even if they know the correct answers. Neither speakers nor interpreters should correct each other in front of an interviewee or class. They should settle all differences away from the subject or audience.

C-36. Establishing rapport with the interpreter is vital; establishing rapport with interviewees or the target audience is equally important. Speakers and their interpreters should concentrate on this task. To establish rapport, interviewees and target audiences should be treated as mature, important people who are worthy and capable.

C-37. Several methods ensure that the speaker communicates directly to the target audience using the interpreter as only a mechanism for that communication. One technique is to have the interpreter stand to the side of and just behind the speaker. This position lets the speaker stand face-to-face with the target audience. The speaker should always look at and talk directly to the target audience, rather than to the interpreter. This method allows the speaker and the target audience to establish a personal relationship.

SPEAKING TECHNIQUES

C-38. An important first step for Soldiers and Marines communicating in a foreign language is to reinforce and polish their English language skills. These skills are important, even when no attempt has been made to learn the HN language. They should use correct words, without idioms or slang. The more clearly Soldiers and Marines speak in English, the easier it is for interpreters to translate exactly. For instance, speakers may want to add words usually left out in colloquial English, such as the "air" in airplane. This ensures they are not misinterpreted as referring to the Great Plains or a carpenter's plane.

C-39. Speakers should not use profanity at all and should avoid slang. Many times, interpreters cannot translate such expressions. Even those they can translate might lose the desired meaning. Terms of surprise or reaction such as "gee whiz" and "golly" are difficult to translate.

C-40. Speakers should avoid using acronyms. While these are part of everyday military language, most interpreters and target audiences do not know them. The interpreter may have to interrupt the interview for clarification. This can disrupt the rhythm of the interview or lesson. If interpreters constantly interrupt the speaker for explanation, they could lose credibility in the eyes of the target audience. Such a reaction could jeopardize the interview or lesson. If speakers use technical terms or expressions, they should be sure interpreters convey the proper meaning. This preparation is best done in advance.

C-41. Before speaking impulsively, Soldiers and Marines should consider what they wish to say. They should break their thoughts into logical bits and articulate them one at a time. Using short, simple words and sentences helps the interpreter to translate quickly and easily. Speakers should never say more in one sentence than they can easily repeat immediately after saying it. Each sentence should contain a complete thought without the extra words.

C-42. Speakers should avoid American "folk" and culture-specific references. Target audiences may have no idea what is being talked about. Even when interpreters understand the reference, they may find it difficult to quickly identify an appropriate equivalent in the target audience's cultural frame of reference.

C-43. Transitional phrases and qualifiers may confuse nonnative speakers and waste valuable time. Examples include "for example," "in most cases," "maybe," and "perhaps."

C-44. Speakers should avoid American humor. Humor is culturally specific and does not translate well. Cultural and language differences can lead to misinterpretations by foreigners.

C-45. Speakers must consider some "dos" and "don'ts" for when working with interpreters. Table C-2 clarifies what speakers should and should not do.

Table C-2. Good and bad practices for speakers

Speakers should—
• Position the interpreter by their side (or a step back). This keeps the subject or target audience from shifting their attention or fixating on the interpreter rather than on the leader. • Always look at and talk directly to the subject or target audience. Guard against the tendency to talk to the interpreter. • Speak slowly and clearly. Repeat as often as necessary. • Speak to the individual or group as if they understand English. Be enthusiastic. Use gestures, movements, voice intonations, and inflections normally used with an English-speaking group. Remember that considerable nonverbal meaning is conveyed through voice and body movements. Encourage interpreters to mimic the same delivery. • Periodically check an interpreter's accuracy, consistency, and clarity. Request a U.S. citizen fluent in the language to check that the interpreter is not distorting the translation, intentionally or unintentionally. Learn some of the language. • Check with the audience whenever a misunderstanding is suspected and clarify immediately. Using the interpreter, ask questions to elicit answers to indicate whether the point is clear. If it is not, rephrase the instruction and illustrate the point differently. Use repetition and examples whenever necessary to facilitate learning. If the interviewees ask few questions, it may mean they have not understood the instruction or the message is unclear. • Ensure interpreters understand they are valuable team members. Recognize them based on the importance of their contributions. Protect interpreters; the insurgents and criminal elements may target them.
Speakers should not—
• Address the subject or audience in the third person through the interpreter. For example, avoid saying, "Tell them I'm glad to be their instructor." Instead, directly address the subject or audience saying, "I am glad to be your instructor." Make continual eye contact with the audience. Watch them, not the interpreter. • Make side comments to the interpreter that are not interpreted. This action is rude, discourteous, and creates the wrong atmosphere. • Distract the audience while the interpreter is translating. Avoid pacing, writing on the blackboard, teetering on the lectern, drinking beverages, or doing any other distracting activity while the interpreter is translating.

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Appendix D

Legal Considerations

Law and policy govern the actions of the U.S. forces in all military operations, including counterinsurgency. For U.S. forces to conduct operations, a legal basis must exist. This legal basis profoundly influences many aspects of the operation. It affects the rules of engagement, how U.S. forces organize and train foreign forces, the authority to spend funds to benefit the host nation, and the authority of U.S. forces to detain and interrogate. Under the Constitution, the President is commander in chief of the U.S. forces. Therefore, orders issued by the President or the Secretary of Defense to a combatant commander provide the starting point in determining the legal basis. This appendix summarizes some of the laws and policies that bear upon U.S. military operations in support of foreign counterinsurgencies. Laws are legislation passed by Congress and signed into law by the President, as well as treaties to which the United States is party. Policies are executive orders, departmental directives and regulations, and other authoritative statements issued by government officials. No summary provided here can replace a consultation with the unit's supporting staff judge advocate.

AUTHORITY TO ASSIST A FOREIGN GOVERNMENT

D-1. U.S. forces have limited authority to provide assistance to foreign governments. For foreign internal defense, U.S. forces may be authorized to make limited contributions. Assistance to police by U.S. forces is permitted, but not with the Department of Defense (DOD) as the lead governmental department.

AUTHORITY FOR FOREIGN INTERNAL DEFENSE

D-2. The President or Secretary of Defense give the deployment and execution order. Without receiving a deployment or execution order, U.S. forces may be authorized to make only limited contributions in support of a host nation's counterinsurgency (COIN) effort. If the Secretary of State requests and the Secretary of Defense approves, U.S. forces can participate in this action. The request and approval go through standing statutory authorities in Title 22, United States Code. Title 22 contains the Foreign Assistance Act, the Arms Export Control Act, and other laws. It authorizes security assistance, developmental assistance, and other forms of bilateral aid. The request and approval might also occur under various provisions in Title 10, United States Code. Title 10 authorizes certain types of military-to-military contacts, exchanges, exercises, and limited forms of humanitarian and civic assistance in coordination with the U.S. Ambassador for the host nation. In such situations, U.S. military personnel work as administrative and technical personnel. They are part of the U.S. diplomatic mission, pursuant to a status of forces agreement, or pursuant to an exchange of letters. This cooperation and assistance is limited to liaison, contacts, training, equipping, and providing defense articles and services. It does not include direct involvement in operations.

DOD USUALLY NOT LEAD—GENERAL PROHIBITION ON ASSISTANCE TO POLICE

D-3. DOD is usually not the lead governmental department for assisting foreign governments, even for the provision of security assistance—that is, military training, equipment, and defense articles and services—to the host nation's military forces. DOD contribution may be large, but the legal authority is typically one exercised by the Department of State. With regard to provision of training to a foreign government's police or other civil interior forces, the U.S. military typically has no authorized role. The Foreign Assistance Act specifically prohibits assistance to foreign police forces except within carefully circumscribed exceptions, and under a Presidential directive, and the lead role in providing police assistance

within those exceptions has been normally delegated to the Department of State's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs. However, the President did sign a decision directive in 2004 granting authority to train and equip Iraqi police to the Commander, U.S. Central Command.

AUTHORIZATION TO USE MILITARY FORCE

D-4. Two types of resolutions authorize involvement of U. S. forces: a Congressional resolution and the 1973 War Powers Resolution. Congressional support is necessary if U.S. forces will be involved in actual operations overseas. The 1973 Resolution lets the President authorize military forces for a limited time.

CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION

D-5. Congressional support is needed for any prolonged involvement of U.S. forces in actual operations overseas. Often a Congressional resolution provides the central legal basis for such involvement within domestic law. This is especially likely if U.S. forces are anticipated, at least initially, to be engaged in combat operations against an identified hostile force.

STANDING WAR POWERS RESOLUTION

D-6. The 1973 War Powers Resolution requires the President to consult and report to Congress when introducing U.S. forces into certain situations. There are times though when a specific Congressional authorization for use of force is absent. In the absence of this authorization, the President—without conceding that the 1973 Resolution binds the President's own constitutional authority—makes a report to Congress. The President must make the report within 48 hours of introducing substantial U.S. forces into the host nation. This report details the circumstances necessitating introduction or enlargement of troops. The President bases his or her action on the Constitutional or legislative authority and the estimated scope and duration of the deployment or combat action. The 1973 Resolution states that if Congress does not declare war or specifically authorize the deployment or combat action within 60 days of the report, the President must terminate U.S. military involvement and redeploy U.S. forces.

RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

D-7. *Rules of engagement* (ROE) are directives issued by competent military authority that delineate the circumstances and limitations under which United States forces will initiate and/or continue combat engagement with other forces encountered (JP 1-02). Often these directives are specific to the operation. If there are no operation-specific ROE, U.S. forces apply standing rules of engagement (SROE). When working with a multinational force, commanders must coordinate the ROE thoroughly.

OPERATION-SPECIFIC RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

D-8. In a large-scale deployment, the Secretary of Defense may issue ROE specific to the operation to a combatant commander. The combatant commander and subordinate commanders then issue ROE consistent with the ROE received from the Secretary of Defense. ROE state the circumstances under which Soldiers or Marines may open fire. They may fire when they positively identify a member of a hostile force or they have clear indications of hostile intent. ROE may include rules concerning when civilians may be detained, specify levels of approval authority for using heavy weapons, or identify facilities that may be protected with deadly force. All ROE comply with the law of war. ROE in COIN are dynamic. Commanders must regularly review ROE for their effectiveness in the complex COIN environment. Training counterinsurgents in ROE should be reinforced regularly.

CHAIRMAN OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF STANDING RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

D-9. In the absence of operation-specific ROE, U.S. forces apply CJCSI 3121.01B. This instruction refers to SROE for U.S. forces. The SROE establish fundamental policies and procedures governing the actions of U.S. force commanders in certain events. These events include military attacks against the United States and during all military operations, contingencies, terrorist attacks, or prolonged conflicts outside the territo-

rial jurisdiction of the United States. The SROE do not limit a commander's inherent authority and obligation to use all necessary means available. They also do not limit the commander's authority and obligation to take all appropriate action in self-defense of the commander's unit and other U.S. forces in the vicinity. The SROE prescribe how supplemental ROE for specific operations are provided as well as the format by which subordinate commanders may request ROE.

MULTINATIONAL RULES OF ENGAGEMENT

D-10. When U.S. forces, under U.S. operational or tactical control, operate with a multinational force, reasonable efforts are made to effect common ROE. If such ROE cannot be established, U.S. forces operate under the SROE or operation-specific ROE provided by U.S. authorities. To avoid misunderstanding, commanders thoroughly discuss among multinational forces any differences in ROE or ROE interpretation. They disseminate any differences in ROE to the units involved.

THE LAW OF WAR

D-11. COIN and international armed conflicts often overlap. COIN may take place before, after, or simultaneously with a war occurring between nations. U.S. forces obey the law of war. The law of war is a body of international treaties and customs, recognized by the United States as binding. It regulates the conduct of hostilities and protects noncombatants. The main law of war protections come from the Hague and Geneva Conventions. They apply at the tactical and operational levels and are summarized in ten rules:

- Soldiers and Marines fight only enemy combatants.
- Soldiers and Marines do not harm enemies who surrender. They disarm them and turn them over to their superiors.
- Soldiers and Marines do not kill or torture enemy prisoners of war.
- Soldiers and Marines collect and care for the wounded, whether friend or foe.
- Soldiers and Marines do not attack medical personnel, facilities, or equipment.
- Soldiers and Marines destroy no more than the mission requires.
- Soldiers and Marines treat all civilians humanely.
- Soldiers and Marines do not steal. They respect private property and possessions.
- Soldiers and Marines do their best to prevent violations of the law of war.
- Soldiers and Marines report all violations of the law of war to their superior.

D-12. When insurgency occurs during occupation, the law of war includes rules governing situations in which the military forces of one state occupy the territory of another. Occupation is not a transfer of sovereignty. It does however grant the occupying power the authority and responsibility to restore and maintain public order and safety. The occupying power must respect, as much as possible, the laws in force in the host nation. One of the four Geneva Conventions of 1949—the Geneva Convention Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War—becomes a prominent source of law during occupation.

INTERNAL ARMED CONFLICT

D-13. During COIN operations, commanders must be aware of Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions and the status of insurgents under the laws of the host nation.

GENEVA CONVENTION, COMMON ARTICLE 3

D-14. Although insurgencies can occur simultaneously with a legal state of war between two nations, they are classically conflicts internal to a single nation, between uniformed government forces and armed elements that do not wear uniforms with fixed distinctive insignia, carry arms openly, or otherwise obey the laws and customs of war. As such, the main body of the law of war does not strictly apply to these conflicts—a legal fact that can be a source of confusion to commanders and Soldiers. It bears emphasis, however, that one article contained in all four of the Geneva Conventions—Common Article 3—is specifically intended to apply to internal armed conflicts:

In the case of armed conflict not of an international character occurring in the territory of one of the High Contracting Parties, each Party to the conflict shall be bound to apply, as a minimum, the following provisions:

(1) Persons taking no active part in the hostilities, including members of armed forces who have laid down their arms and those placed "hors de combat" by sickness, wounds, detention, or any other cause, shall in all circumstances be treated humanely, without any adverse distinction founded on race, colour, religion or faith, sex, birth or wealth, or any other similar criteria.

To this end, the following acts are and shall remain prohibited at any time and in any place whatsoever with respect to the above-mentioned persons:

(a) Violence to life and person, in particular murder of all kinds, mutilation, cruel treatment and torture;

(b) Taking of hostages;

(c) Outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment;

(d) The passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court, affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples.

(2) The wounded and sick shall be collected and cared for.

An impartial humanitarian body, such as the International Committee of the Red Cross, may offer its services to the Parties to the conflict.

The Parties to the conflict should further endeavor to bring into force, by means of special agreements, all or part of the other provisions of the present Convention.

The application of the preceding provisions shall not affect the legal status of the Parties to the conflict.

APPLICATION OF CRIMINAL LAWS OF THE HOST NATION

D-15. The final sentence of Common Article 3 makes clear that insurgents have no special status under international law. They are not, when captured, prisoners of war. Insurgents may be prosecuted legally as criminals for bearing arms against the government and for other offenses, so long as they are accorded the minimum protections described in Common Article 3. U.S. forces conducting COIN should remember that the insurgents are, as a legal matter, criminal suspects within the legal system of the host nation. Counterinsurgents must carefully preserve weapons, witness statements, photographs, and other evidence collected at the scene. This evidence will be used to process the insurgents into the legal system and thus hold them accountable for their crimes while still promoting the rule of law.

D-16. Status of forces agreements establish the legal status of military personnel in foreign countries. Criminal and civil jurisdiction, taxation, and claims for damages and injuries are some of the topics usually covered in a status of forces agreement. In the absence of an agreement or some other arrangement with the host nation, DOD personnel in foreign countries may be subject to its laws.

DETENTION AND INTERROGATION

D-17. Chapters 3, 5, and 7 indicate the need for human intelligence in COIN operations. This need can create great pressure to obtain time-sensitive information from detained individuals. The Detainee Treatment Act of 2005, FM 2-22.3, and other specific standards were created to guide U.S. forces working with detainees.

DETAINEE TREATMENT ACT OF 2005

D-18. U.S. law clearly prohibits U.S. forces, including officials from other government agencies, from using certain methods to obtain information. Instances of detainee abuse, including maltreatment involving

interrogation, were documented. In response, Congress passed, and the President signed into law, the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005. (See Table D-1.)

Table D-1. Extract of the Detainee Treatment Act of 2005

Section 1002: Uniform Standards for the Interrogation of Persons Under the Detention of the Department of Defense
(a) In General.—No person in the custody or under the effective control of the Department of Defense or under detention in a Department of Defense facility shall be subject to any treatment or technique of interrogation not authorized by and listed in the United States Army Field Manual on Intelligence Interrogation [FM 2-22.3]. (b) Applicability.—Subsection (a) shall not apply with respect to any person in the custody or under the effective control of the Department of Defense pursuant to a criminal law or immigration law of the United States. (c) Construction.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to affect the rights under the United States Constitution of any person in the custody or under the physical jurisdiction of the United States.
Section 1003: Prohibition on Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment of Persons Under Custody or Control of the United States Government
(a) In General.—No individual in the custody or under the physical control of the United States Government, regardless of nationality or physical location, shall be subject to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment. (b) Construction.—Nothing in this section shall be construed to impose any geographical limitation on the applicability of the prohibition against cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment under this section. (c) Limitation on Supersedure.—The provisions of this section shall not be superseded, except by a provision of law enacted after the date of the enactment of this Act which specifically repeals, modifies, or supersedes the provisions of this section. (d) Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment defined.—In this section, the term "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment" means the cruel, unusual, and inhumane treatment or punishment prohibited by the Fifth, Eighth, and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as defined in the United States Reservations, Declarations and Understandings to the United Nations Convention Against Torture and Other Forms of Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment done at New York, December 10, 1984.

INTERROGATION FIELD MANUAL

D-19. The Detainee Treatment Act established FM 2-22.3 as the legal standard. No techniques other than those prescribed by the field manual are authorized by U.S. forces. Commanders must ensure that interrogators receive proper training and supervision.

STANDARDS FOR DETENTION AND INTERNMENT

D-20. Regardless of the precise legal status of those persons captured, detained, or otherwise held in custody by U.S. forces, they must receive humane treatment until properly released. They also must be provided the minimum protections of the Geneva Conventions. Specially trained, organized, and equipped military police units in adequately designed and resourced facilities should accomplish prolonged detention. Such detention must follow the detailed standards contained in AR 190-8/MCO 3461.1. The military police personnel operating such facilities shall not be used to assist in or "set the conditions for" interrogation.

TRANSFER OF DETAINEES TO THE HOST NATION

D-21. There are certain conditions under which U.S. forces may not transfer the custody of detainees to the host nation or any other foreign government. U.S. forces retain custody if they have substantial grounds to

believe that the detainees would be in danger in the custody of others. Such danger could include being subjected to torture or inhumane treatment. (For more information on transferring detainees, see DODD 2310.01E and consult the legal advisor or staff judge advocate.)

ENFORCING DISCIPLINE OF U.S. FORCES

D-22. Despite rigorous selection and training, some personnel require discipline. The Uniform Code of Military Justice is the criminal code of military justice applicable to all military members. Commanders and general officers are responsible for their subordinates and their behavior. Commanders must give clear guidance and ensure compliance. All civilians working for the U.S. Government also must comply with the laws.

UNIFORM CODE OF MILITARY JUSTICE

D-23. Although the vast majority of well-led and well-trained U.S. military personnel perform their duties honorably and lawfully, history records that some commit crimes amidst the decentralized command and control, the strains of opposing a treacherous and hidden enemy, and the often complex ROE that characterize the COIN environment. Uniformed personnel remain subject at all times to the Uniform Code of Military Justice and must be investigated and prosecuted, as appropriate, for violations of orders, maltreatment of detainees, assaults, thefts, sexual offenses, destruction of property, and other crimes, including homicides, that they may commit during COIN.

COMMAND RESPONSIBILITY

D-24. In some cases, military commanders may be deemed responsible for crimes committed by subordinates or others subject to their control. This situation arises when the criminal acts are committed pursuant to the commander's order. Commanders are also responsible if they have actual knowledge, or should have knowledge, through reports received or through other means, that troops or other persons subject to their control are about to commit or have committed a crime, and they fail to take the necessary and reasonable steps to ensure compliance with the law or to punish violators.

GENERAL ORDERS

D-25. Orders issued by general officers in command during COIN likely include provisions, such as a prohibition against drinking alcohol or against entering places of religious worship, important to maintaining discipline of the force, to safeguarding the image of U.S. forces, and to promoting the legitimacy of the host government. These orders are readily enforceable under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

CIVILIAN PERSONNEL AND CONTRACTORS

D-26. Modern COIN operations involve many DOD civilians as well as civilian personnel employed by government contractors. The means of disciplining such persons for violations differ from the means of disciplining uniformed personnel. These civilians may be made subject to general orders. They are also subject to U.S. laws and to the laws of the host nation. These civilians may be prosecuted or receive adverse administrative action by the United States or contract employers. DOD directives contain further policy and guidance pertaining to U.S. civilians accompanying our forces in COIN.

HUMANITARIAN RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION

D-27. In COIN, like all operations, commands require specific authority to expend funds. That authority is normally found in the DOD Appropriations Act, specifically**,** operation and maintenance funds. In recent COIN operations, Congress appropriated additional funds to commanders for the specific purpose of dealing with COIN. Recent examples include the commander's emergency response program (CERP), the Iraq Relief and Reconstruction Fund, Iraq Freedom Fund, and Commander's Humanitarian Relief and Reconstruction Program funds.

DOD FUNDS GENERALLY NOT EXPENDABLE BY COMMANDERS FOR THIS PURPOSE

D-28. Congress specifically appropriates funds for foreign assistance. The United States Agency for International Development expends such funds under the legal authorities in Title 22, United States Code. Provisions of Title 10 authorize small amounts of money. These funds are appropriated annually for commanders to provide humanitarian relief, disaster relief, or civic assistance in conjunction with military operations. These standing authorities are narrowly defined and generally require significant advance coordination within the DOD and the Department of State. As such, they are of limited value to ongoing COIN operations.

COMMANDERS EMERGENCY RESPONSE PROGRAM

D-29. Beginning in November of 2003, Congress authorized use of a specific amount of operations and maintenance funds for a CERP in Iraq and Afghanistan. The legislation was renewed in successive appropriations and authorization acts. It specified that commanders could spend the funds for urgent humanitarian relief and reconstruction projects. These projects had to immediately assist the Iraqi and Afghan peoples within a commander's area of operations. Congress did not intend the funds to be used as—

- Security assistance such as weapons, ammunition, and supplies for security forces.
- Salaries for Iraqi or Afghan forces or employees.
- Rewards for information.
- Payments in satisfaction of claims made by Iraqis or Afghanis against the United States (specific legislation must authorize such payments).

D-30. The CERP provided tactical commanders a ready source of cash for small-scale projects. They could repair public buildings, clear debris from roadways, provide supplies to hospitals and schools, and meet other local needs. Because Congress had provided special authority for the program, normal federal acquisition laws and regulations did not apply. The reporting requirements were minimal.

D-31. The CERP is not a standing program. Any similar future program should be governed by whatever specific legislative provision Congress chooses to enact. In any program similar to CERP, commanders and staffs must make sound, well-coordinated decisions on how to spend the funds. They must ensure that maximum goodwill is created. Commanders must verify that the extra cash does not create harmful effects in the local economy. One such side effect would be creating unsustainable wages that divert skilled labor from a host-nation (HN) program essential to its legitimacy. Commanders must also ensure that projects can be responsibly administered to achieve the desired objective and that they avoid financing insurgents inadvertently.

TRAINING AND EQUIPPING FOREIGN FORCES

D-32. Effective foreign forces need training and equipment. U.S. laws require Congress to authorize such expenditures. U.S. laws also require the Department of State to verify that the host nation receiving the assistance is not in violation of human rights.

NEED FOR SPECIFIC AUTHORITY

D-33. All training and equipping of foreign security forces must be specifically authorized. Usually, DOD involvement is limited to a precise level of man-hours and materiel requested from the Department of State under the Foreign Assistance Act. The President may authorize deployed U.S. forces to train or advise HN security forces as part of the operational mission. In this case, DOD personnel, operations, and maintenance appropriations provide an incidental benefit to those security forces. All other weapons, training, equipment, logistic support, supplies, and services provided to foreign forces must be paid for with funds appropriated by Congress for that purpose. Examples include the Iraq Security Forces Fund and the Afghan Security Forces Fund of fiscal year 2005. Moreover, the President must give specific authority to the DOD for its role in such "train and equip" efforts. In May of 2004, the President signed a decision directive that made the commander, U.S. Central Command, under policy guidance from the chief of mission, responsible for coordinating all U.S. Government efforts to organize, train, and equip Iraqi Security Forces,

including police. Absent such a directive, DOD lacks authority to take the lead in assisting a host nation to train and equip its security forces.

HUMAN RIGHTS VETTING

D-34. Congress typically limits when it will fund training or equipment for foreign security forces. If the Department of State has credible information that the foreign security force unit identified to receive the training or equipment has committed a gross violation of human rights, Congress prohibits funding. Such prohibitions impose a requirement upon Department of State and DOD. These departments must vet the proposed recipient units against a database of credible reports of human rights violations.

CLAIMS AND SOLATIA

D-35. Under certain conditions, the U.S. Government will make payments to HN civilians. The Foreign Claims Act permits claims to be filed against the U.S. Government. In some countries, solatia payments are made.

FOREIGN CLAIMS ACT

D-36. Under the Foreign Claims Act, claims by HN civilians for property losses, injury, or death caused by service members or the civilian component of the U.S. forces may be paid to promote and maintain friendly relations with the host nation. Claims that result from noncombat activities or negligent or wrongful acts or omissions are also payable. Claims that are not payable under the Foreign Claims Act include losses from combat, contractual matters, domestic obligations, and claims which are either not in the best interest of the United States to pay, or which are contrary to public policy. Because payment of claims is specifically governed by law and because many claims prove, upon investigation, to be not payable, U.S. forces must be careful not to raise expectations by promising payment.

SOLATIA

D-37. If U.S. forces are conducting COIN in a country where payments in sympathy or recognition of loss are common, solatia payments to accident victims may be legally payable. Solatia payments are not claims payments. They are payments in money or in kind to a victim or to a victim's family as an expression of sympathy or condolence. The payments are customarily immediate and generally nominal. The individual or unit involved in the damage has no legal obligation to pay; compensation is simply offered as an expression of remorse in accordance with local custom. Solatia payments should not be made without prior coordination with the combatant command.

ESTABLISHING THE RULE OF LAW

D-38. Establishing the rule of law is a key goal and end state in COIN. Defining that end state requires extensive coordination between the instruments of U.S. power, the host nation, and multinational partners. Additionally, attaining that end state is usually the province of HN authorities, international and intergovernmental organizations, the Department of State, and other U.S. Government agencies, with support from U.S. forces in some cases. Some key aspects of the rule of law include:

- **A government that derives its powers from the governed** and competently manages, coordinates, and sustains collective security, as well as political, social, and economic development. This includes local, regional, and national government.
- **Sustainable security institutions**. These include a civilian-controlled military as well as police, court, and penal institutions. The latter should be perceived by the local populace as fair, just, and transparent.
- **Fundamental human rights**. The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and the International Convention for Civil and Political Rights provide a guide for applicable human rights. The latter provides for derogation from certain rights, however, during a state of emergency. Respect for the full panoply of human rights should be the goal of the host nation; derogation and

violation of these rights by HN security forces, in particular, often provides an excuse for insurgent activities.

D-39. In periods of extreme unrest and insurgency, HN legal structures—courts, prosecutors, defense assistance, and prisons—may cease to exist or function at any level. Under these conditions, counterinsurgents may need to undertake a significant role in the reconstruction of the HN judicial system in order to establish legal procedures and systems to deal with captured insurgents and common criminals. During judicial reconstruction, counterinsurgents can expect to be involved in providing sustainment and security support. They can also expect to provide legal support and advice to the HN judicial entities. Even when judicial functions are restored, counterinsurgents may still have to provide logistic and security support to judicial activities for a prolonged period. This support continues as long as insurgents continue to disrupt activities that support the legitimate rule of law.

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Appendix E

Airpower in Counterinsurgency

Counterinsurgency operations are, by their nature, joint operations—and airpower and landpower are interdependent elements of such operations. As this appendix explains, airpower and spacepower are important force multipliers for U.S., multinational, and host-nation forces fighting an insurgency.

OVERVIEW

E-1. Airpower can contribute significant support to land forces conducting counterinsurgency (COIN) operations. Aircraft can, for example, strike insurgents, and that can be enormously important in many situations. However, given the nature of the COIN environment, airpower will most often transport troops, equipment, and supplies and perform intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance missions. Rough terrain and poor transportation networks can create serious obstacles for COIN forces while giving advantages to insurgents. Airpower helps counterinsurgents overcome these obstacles. Thus, airpower both serves as a significant force multiplier and enables counterinsurgents to operate more effectively.

E-2. Airpower provides considerable asymmetric advantages to counterinsurgents. If insurgents assemble a conventional force, air assets can respond quickly with precision fires. In a sudden crisis, air mobility can immediately move land forces where they are needed. In numerous COIN operations, airpower has demonstrated a vital supporting role. In Malaya (1948 through 1960) and El Salvador (1980 through 1992), as well as more recently in Colombia and Afghanistan, airpower contributed significantly to successful COIN operations. In these cases, the ability to airlift British and U.S. Army and police units to remote locations proved important in tracking down and eliminating insurgents. Airpower enables counterinsurgents to operate in rough and remote terrain, areas that insurgents traditionally have used as safe havens.

E-3. Effective leaders also use airpower in roles other than delivering ordnance. In Colombia, aerial crop dusters sprayed and eradicated coca fields that provided drug income for insurgents. During the El Salvador insurgency, medical evacuation (MEDEVAC) helicopters provided to the Salvadoran forces played a central role in improving the Salvadorans' fighting capabilities. Salvadoran morale improved noticeably when soldiers knew that, if they were wounded, MEDEVAC helicopters would get them to a hospital in minutes. With this air support, the Salvadoran Army became much more aggressive in tracking down and engaging insurgents.

E-4. Air transport can also quickly deliver humanitarian assistance. In isolated regions, using air transport to airlift or airdrop food and medical supplies to civilians can help win the populace's support. Air transport is also important for COIN logistics. In areas where ground convoys are vulnerable, U.S. forces can airlift supplies, enabling commanders to maintain forces in remote but strategically important locations.

AIRPOWER IN THE STRIKE ROLE

E-5. Precision air attacks can be of enormous value in COIN operations; however, commanders exercise exceptional care when using airpower in the strike role. Bombing, even with the most precise weapons, can cause unintended civilian casualties. Effective leaders weigh the benefits of every air strike against its risks. An air strike can cause collateral damage that turns people against the host-nation (HN) government and provides insurgents with a major propaganda victory. Even when justified under the law of war, bombings that result in civilian casualties can bring media coverage that works to the insurgents' benefit. For example, some Palestinian militants have fired rockets or artillery from near a school or village to draw a retaliatory air strike that kills or wounds civilians. If that occurs, the insurgents display those killed and wounded to the media as victims of aggression.

E-6. Even when destroying an obvious insurgent headquarters or command center, counterinsurgents must take care to minimize civilian casualties. New, precise munitions with smaller blast effects can limit collateral damage. When considering the risk of civilian casualties, commanders must weigh collateral damage against the unintended consequences of taking no action. Avoiding all risk may embolden insurgents while providing them sanctuary. The proper and well-executed use of aerial attack can conserve resources, increase effectiveness, and reduce risk to U.S. forces. Given timely, accurate intelligence, precisely delivered weapons with a demonstrated low failure rate, appropriate yield, and proper fuse can achieve desired effects while mitigating adverse effects. However, inappropriate or indiscriminate use of air strikes can erode popular support and fuel insurgent propaganda. For these reasons, commanders should consider the use of air strikes carefully during COIN operations, neither disregarding them outright nor employing them excessively.

AIRPOWER IN INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION

E-7. Given the challenges faced by human intelligence (HUMINT) assets in finding and penetrating insurgent networks, counterinsurgents must effectively employ all available intelligence collection capabilities. A combination of unmanned aircraft systems, manned aircraft, and space-based platforms can provide counterinsurgents with many collection capabilities.

E-8. When insurgents operate in rural or remote areas, aerial reconnaissance and surveillance proves useful. Working with signals intelligence (SIGINT), aerial reconnaissance and surveillance uses imagery and infrared systems to find hidden base camps and insurgent defensive positions. Persistent aerial surveillance can often identify people, vehicles, and buildings—even when they are hidden under heavy growth. Manned and unmanned aircraft can patrol roads to locate insurgent ambushes and improvised explosive devices. Air-mounted SIGINT collection platforms can detect insurgent communications and locate their points of origin.

E-9. Air assets have proven important in tactical operations and in convoy and route protection. Helicopters have been especially useful in providing overwatch, fire support, alternate communications, and MEDEVAC support. At the tactical level, air support requires a decentralized command and control system that gives supported units immediate access to available combat air assets and to information collected by air reconnaissance and support assets.

E-10. However, intelligence obtained through air and space platforms works best when it is quickly and efficiently routed to a joint intelligence center. This center fuses HUMINT information with that collected by other intelligence disciplines. To provide a complete picture, air and space intelligence must be combined with HUMINT. For example, while SIGINT and aerial surveillance and reconnaissance assets can determine that people are evacuating a village, they cannot explain why the people are leaving.

E-11. HUMINT is also a key enabler of airpower in the strike role. Commanders require the best possible intelligence about a target and its surrounding area when considering an air strike. With proper placement and access to a target, a HUMINT source can often provide the most accurate target data. Details might include optimum strike times, detailed descriptions of the surrounding area, and the presence of sensitive sites like hospitals, churches, and mosques. Target data can include other important factors for collateral damage considerations. Poststrike HUMINT sources equipped with a cell phone, radio, or camera can provide an initial battle damage assessment in near real time. With a thorough debriefing, the HUMINT source can provide an accurate assessment of the functional and psychological effects achieved on the target. Commanders can use this information to assess restrike options.

AIR AND SPACE INFORMATION OPERATIONS

E-12. Air and space forces have information operations (IO) capabilities that include collecting, controlling, exploiting, and protecting information. To make IO most effective, commanders should seamlessly integrate it among all Service components. Air and space forces contribute to the execution of three IO missions:

- Influence operations.
- Electronic warfare.
- Network operations.

E-13. Air and space forces conduct and support many influence operations. These operations include the following:

- Counterpropaganda.
- Psychological operations.
- Military deception.
- Operations security.
- Counterintelligence.
- Public affairs (a related activity of IO).

Commanders must preplan and deconflict these activities to ensure success.

E-14. Airpower and spacepower also contribute to information superiority through electronic warfare operations. Air and space assets are critical in the effort to shape, exploit, and degrade the enemy's electronic devices while protecting and enhancing those of counterinsurgents. The electronic warfare spectrum is not limited to radio frequencies; it includes the optical and infrared regions as well.

E-15. In this context, *network operation*s are activities conducted to operate and defend the Global Information Grid (JP 1-02). Commanders enhance these operations by using air and space systems. Such tools help achieve desired effects across the interconnected analog and digital network portions of the Global Information Grid.

HIGH-TECHNOLOGY ASSETS

E-16. Today's high-technology air and space systems have proven their worth in COIN operations. Unmanned aircraft systems, such as the Predator, give counterinsurgents unprecedented capabilities in surveillance and target acquisition. Aerial surveillance platforms with long loiter times can place an entire region under constant surveillance. Tactical air control parties now provide ground commanders beyond-line-of-sight awareness with ROVER (remote operations video enhanced receiver), which links to aircraft targeting pods and unmanned aircraft systems. Predators have been equipped with precision munitions and successfully employed in the strike role against senior terrorist leaders. Air- and space-based SIGINT platforms give U.S. forces and multinational partners important information collection capabilities. Modern munitions, such as the joint direct attack munition, can guide accurately through clouds and bad weather to destroy insurgent targets under adverse conditions.

LOW-TECHNOLOGY ASSETS

E-17. Today's low-technology aspects of airpower have also proven effective in COIN operations. Light, slow, inexpensive civilian aircraft often have successfully patrolled border areas. In the 1980s, Guatemala mobilized its civilian light aircraft, formed them into an air force reserve, and used them to patrol main roads to report suspected ambushes. This successfully deterred insurgent attacks along Guatemala's major routes. In Africa in the 1980s, South African forces used light aircraft to locate small groups of insurgents trying to infiltrate Namibia from Angola. In Iraq, light aircraft fly patrols to spot insurgents crossing the border. Israel and the United States have even used stationary balloons equipped with video cameras and infrared sensors to watch for border incursions. These unmanned balloons are a simple, inexpensive, and effective means to monitor activity in remote areas.

E-18. The United States and many small nations have effectively used aerial gunships as close air support weapons in COIN operations. A gunship is a transport aircraft modified to carry and fire heavy guns and light artillery from fixed mounts. Many gunship models exist. They range from the Air Force's AC-130 to smaller transports modified to carry weapons ranging from .50-caliber machine guns to 40-millimeter rapid-fire cannons. The gunship's major limitation is its vulnerability to antiaircraft weapons and missiles. Gunships require a relatively benign environment to operate.

AIRLIFT

E-19. Airlift provides a significant asymmetric advantage to COIN forces, enabling commanders to rapidly deploy, reposition, sustain, and redeploy land forces. While land forces can execute these basic missions alone, airlift bypasses weaknesses insurgents have traditionally exploited. For example, airlift enables land forces to operate in rough and remote terrain and to avoid lines of communications (LOCs) targeted by insurgents. During Operation Iraqi Freedom, airlift has provided protected LOCs through convoy mitigation flights. These flights rerouted typical convoy supplies and vehicles. Since insurgents frequently attacked ground convoys, convoy mitigation flights saved lives.

E-20. Sources of airlift include multinational and HN rotary- and fixed-wing assets. Special operations forces provide specialized airlift capabilities for inserting and extracting troops. Strategic intertheater airlift platforms can provide a logistic pipeline. This pipeline moves large quantities of time-critical equipment, supplies, and personnel into and out of a theater. Modern strategic airlift can often provide a direct delivery capability, landing at relatively short, austere fields formerly serviced only by intratheater airlift.

E-21. Modes of airlift include airland and airdrop. Each mode provides advantages and disadvantages, depending on the environment. Airland missions carry greater payloads, resulting in less potential for damage. They also provide backhaul capability (critical for MEDEVAC), troop rotation, equipment repair, and repositioning and redeployment of COIN forces. Fixed-wing assets on airland missions require longer and better prepared landing surfaces. Vertical-lift assets on airland missions can operate from much smaller, more austere fields; however, they fly at slower speeds and often have smaller payloads and shorter ranges. Airdrop missions require the least amount of infrastructure at the receiving end and allow for rapid buildup of forces—up to brigade size. Equally important, airdrop can provide precision insertion and sustainment of numerous small units. Advances in precision-guided, steerable parachutes increase the capability of high-value airdrop missions.

E-22. Airlift is more costly than surface transportation. It is usually a small percentage of the overall transportation network during major combat operations; however, in particularly challenging situations, airlift may become the primary transportation mode for sustainment and repositioning.

E-23. Airlift supports every logical line of operations. For example, it supports IO when COIN forces provide humanitarian airlift to a battered populace. It clearly supports combat operations. Likewise, airlift supports the essential services, governance, and economic development logical lines of operations. HN security forces thus should include airlift development as the host nation's first component of airpower and spacepower.

THE AIRPOWER COMMAND STRUCTURE

E-24. COIN operations require a joint, multinational command and control architecture for air and space that is effective and responsive. The joint structure applies to more than just U.S. forces; it involves coordinating air assets of multinational partners and the host nation. COIN planning must thus establish a joint and multinational airpower command and control system and policies on the rules and conditions for employing airpower in the theater.

E-25. During COIN operations, most planning occurs at lower echelons. Ideally, components at the operational level fully coordinate these plans. Air and space planners require visibility of actions planned at all echelons to provide the most effective air and space support. Furthermore, COIN planning is often fluid and develops along short planning and execution timelines, necessitating informal and formal coordination and integration for safety and efficiency.

E-26. U.S. and multinational air units, along with HN forces, will likely use expeditionary airfields. COIN planners must consider where to locate airfields, including those intended for use as aerial ports of debarkation and other air operations. Factors to consider include—

- Projected near-, mid- and long-term uses of the airfield.
- Types and ranges of aircraft to be operated.
- Shoulder-launched, surface-to-air-missile threats to aircraft.

- Stand-off threats to airfields.
- Proximity to other threats.
- Proximity to land LOCs.
- Availability of fuels.

Airpower operating from remote or dispersed airfields may present a smaller signature than large numbers of land forces, possibly lessening HN sensitivities to foreign military presence. Commanders must properly protect their bases and coordinate their defense among all counterinsurgents.

BUILDING HOST-NATION AIRPOWER CAPABILITY

E-27. U.S. and multinational operations strive to enable the host nation to provide its own internal and external defense. Planners therefore need to establish a long-term program to develop a HN airpower capability. The HN air force should be appropriate for that nation's requirements. For conducting effective COIN operations, a HN air force requires the following basic capabilities:

- Aerial reconnaissance and surveillance.
- Air transport.
- Close air support for land forces.
- Helicopter troop lift.
- MEDEVAC.
- Counterair.
- Interdiction.

E-28. The first step in developing HN airpower is developing the right organizational model for a HN air force. Planning should identify gaps in the host nation's ability to command, control, and employ airpower in COIN operations.

E-29. The next step is to help the host nation develop its aviation infrastructure under a long-term plan. Most developing nations need considerable assistance to develop an appropriate organization, a suitable force structure, and basing plans. As airpower assets represent a large cost for a small nation, an effective airfield security program is also necessary.

E-30. An important training asset is the U.S. Air Force Special Operations Command. This command has teams qualified to operate the most common equipment used in developing nations. These teams also have the language and cultural training to effectively support aircrew and personnel training. The Air Force can also train HN pilots and aircrews through the International Military Education and Training Program.

E-31. Planners should consider HN economic and technological resources when selecting equipment. In most cases, the host nation acquires, or the U.S. and multinational partners provide, a small air force. Although this air force often has limited resources, the host nation still should effectively operate and maintain its aircraft and supporting systems. Multinational support in training and equipping the HN air force can be very important. U.S. aircraft have tremendous capabilities, but they can be too expensive and too complex for some developing nations to operate and maintain. Multinational partners with capable, but less expensive and less sophisticated, aircraft can often help equip the host nation.

E-32. Training and developing a capable HN air force takes considerable time due to the requirements to qualify aircrews, maintenance personnel, and other specialists. Working effectively in joint operations and coordinating support to land forces requires a high skill level. Even when the HN army and police are trained, U.S. personnel will likely stay with HN forces to perform liaison for supporting U.S. air assets and to advise HN forces in the use of their own airpower.

E-33. Developing capable air forces usually takes longer than developing land forces. As a result, Air Force units, advisors, and trainers will likely remain after land force trainers and advisors have completed their mission. Effective air and land operations are complex and require many resources. Often host nations continue to rely on U.S. air liaison personnel, land controllers, and aircraft for an extended period. Thus, COIN planners must consider the long-term U.S. air support requirements in comprehensive COIN planning.

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Source Notes

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Glossary

The glossary lists acronyms and terms with Army, multi-Service, or joint definitions, and other selected terms. Where Army and joint definitions are different, *(Army)* follows the term. The proponent manual for other terms is listed in parentheses after the definition. Terms for which the Army and Marine Corps have agreed on a common definition are followed by *(Army-Marine Corps)*.

SECTION I – ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ACR	armored cavalry regiment
AO	area of operations
AR	Army regulation
ASCOPE	A memory aid for the characteristics of civil considerations: area, structures, capabilities, organizations, people, and events. *See also* METT-TC.
CERP	commander's emergency response program
CJCSI	Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff instruction
CMO	civil-military operations
CMOC	civil-military operations center
COIN	counterinsurgency
CORDS	civil operations and revolutionary (rural) development support
COTS	commercial off-the-shelf
DA	Department of the Army
DOCEX	document exploitation
DOD	Department of Defense
DODD	Department of Defense Directive
DOTMLPF	Memory aid for the force development domains: doctrine, organization, training, materiel, leadership and education, personnel, and facilities.
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Columbia)
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
FID	foreign internal defense
FM	field manual
FMFRP	Fleet Marine Force reference publication
FMI	field manual interim
G-4	assistant chief of staff, logistics
GEOINT	geospatial intelligence
HMMWV	high-mobility, multipurpose, wheeled vehicle
HN	host-nation

HUMINT	human intelligence
IGO	intergovernmental organization
IMET	international military education and training
IMINT	imagery intelligence
IO	information operations
IPB	intelligence preparation of the battelfield
ISR	intelligence, surveillance, and reconnaissance
JIACG	joint interagency coordination group
JP	joint publication
LLO	logical line of operations
LOC	line of communications
MACV	Military Assistance Command, Vietnam
MASINT	measurement and signature intelligence
MCDP	Marine Corps doctrinal publication
MCIP	Marine Corps interim publication
MCO	Marine Corps order
MCRP	Marine Corps reference publication
MCWP	Marine Corps warfighting publication
MEDEVAC	medical evacuation
METT-TC	A memory aid for mission, enemy, terrain and weather, troops and support available, time available, civil considerations used in two contexts: (1) In the context of information management, the major subject categories into which relevant information is grouped for military operations (FM 6-0); (2) In the context of tactics, the major factors considered during mission analysis (FM 3-90). [Note: The Marine Corps uses METT-T: mission, enemy, terrain and weather, troops and support available, time available.]
MNSTC-I	Multinational Security Transition Command–Iraq
MOE	measure of effectiveness
MOP	measure of performance
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NCO	noncommissioned officer
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NSC	National Security Council
OCS	officer candidate school
OSINT	open-source intelligence
PIR	priority intelligence requirement
PRC	purchase request and committal
PRT	provincial reconstruction team
ROE	rules of engagement
S-2	intelligence staff officer
S-4	logistics staff officer
SIGINT	signals intelligence

SNA	social network analysis
SOF	special operations forces
SROE	standing rules of engagement
TAREX	target exploitation
UN	United Nations
U.S.	United States
USA	United States Army
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USMC	United States Marine Corps

SECTION II – TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

all-source intelligence

(joint) Intelligence products and/or organizations and activities that incorporate all sources of information, most frequently including human resources intelligence, imagery intelligence, measurement and signature intelligence, signals intelligence, and open-source data in the production of finished intelligence. (JP 1-02)

area of interest

(joint) That area of concern to the commander, including the area of influence, areas adjacent thereto, and extending into enemy territory to the objectives of current or planned operations. This area also includes areas occupied by enemy forces who could jeopardize the accomplishment of the mission. (JP 1-02)

area of operations

(joint) An operational area defined by the joint force commander for land and maritime forces. Areas of operations do not typically encompass the entire operational area of the joint force commander, but should be large enough for component commanders to accomplish their missions and protect their forces. (JP 1-02)

area security

A form of security operations conducted to protect friendly forces, installation routes, and actions within a specific area. (FM 3-90)

assessment

(Army) The continuous monitoring and evaluation of the current situation and progress of an operation. (FMI 5-0.1)

board

A temporary grouping of selected staff representatives delegated decision authority for a particular purpose or function. (FMI 5-0.1)

center of gravity

(joint) The source of power that provides moral or physical strength, freedom of action, or will to act. (JP 1-02)

civil considerations

How the manmade infrastructure, civilian institutions, and attitudes and activities of the civilian leaders, populations, and organizations within an area of operations influence the conduct of military operations. (FM 6-0) *See also* METT-TC.

clear

(Army) A tactical mission task that requires the commander to remove all enemy forces and eliminate organized resistance in an assigned area. (FM 3-90)

coalition

(joint) An ad hoc arrangement between two or more nations for common action. (JP 1-02)

combatant commander

(joint) A commander of one of the unified or specified combatant commands established by the President. (JP 1-02)

command and control system

(joint) The facilities, equipment, communications, procedures, and personnel essential to a commander for planning, directing, and controlling operations of assigned forces pursuant to the missions assigned. (JP 1-02) (Army) The arrangement of personnel, information management, procedures, and equipment and facilities essential for the commander to conduct operations. (FM 6-0)

commander's intent

(Army) A clear, concise statement of what the force must do and the conditions the force must meet to succeed with respect to the enemy, terrain, and civil considerations that represent the operation's desired end state. (FMI 5-0.1) (Marine Corps) A commander's clear, concise articulation of the purpose(s) behind one or more tasks assigned to a subordinate. It is one of two parts of every mission statement which guides the exercise of initiative in the absence of instructions. (MCRP 5-12A)

commander's visualization

The mental process of developing situational understanding, determining a desired end state, and envisioning how the force will achieve that end state. (FMI 5-0.1)

command post cell

A grouping of personnel and equipment by warfighting function or purpose to facilitate command and control during operations. (FMI 5-0.1)

common operational picture

(joint) A single identical display of relevant information shared by more than one command. A common operational picture facilitates collaborative planning and assists all echelons to achieve situational awareness. (JP 1-02) (Army) An operational picture tailored to the user's requirements, based on common data and information shared by more than one command. (FM 3-0)

counterinsurgency

(joint) Those military, paramilitary, political, economic, psychological, and civic actions taken by a government to defeat insurgency. (JP 1-02)

counterintelligence

(joint) Information gathered and activities conducted to protect against espionage, other intelligence activities, sabotage, or assassinations conducted by or on behalf of foreign governments or elements thereof, foreign organizations, or foreign persons, or international terrorist activities. (JP 1-02) (Army) Counterintelligence counters or neutralizes intelligence collection efforts through collection, counterintelligence investigations, operations, analysis and production, and functional and technical services. Counterintelligence includes all actions taken to detect, identify, exploit, and neutralize the multidiscipline intelligence activities of friends, competitors, opponents, adversaries, and enemies; and is the key intelligence community contributor to protect United States interests and equities. (FM 2-0)

counterterrorism

(joint) Operations that include the offensive measures taken to prevent, deter, preempt, and respond to terrorism. (JP 1-02)

decisive point

(joint) A geographic place, specific key event, critical system or function that, when acted upon, allows commanders to gain a marked advantage over an enemy or contribute materially to achieving success. (JP 1-02)

dislocated civilian

(joint) A broad term that includes a displaced person, an evacuee, an expellee, an internally displaced person, a migrant, a refugee, or a stateless person. (JP 1-02)

end state

(joint) The set of required conditions that defines achievement of the commander's objectives. (JP 1-02)

execute

To put a plan into action by applying combat power to accomplish the mission and using situational understanding to assess progress and make execution and adjustment decisions. (FM 6-0)

foreign internal defense

(joint) Participation by civilian and military agencies of a government in any of the action programs taken by another government or other designated organization to free and protect its society from subversion, lawlessness, and insurgency. (JP 1-02)

forward operations base

(joint) In special operations, a base usually located in friendly territory or afloat that is established to extend command and control or communications or to provide support for training and tactical operations. Facilities may be established for temporary or longer duration operations and may include an airfield or an unimproved airstrip, an anchorage, or a pier. A forward operations base may be the location of special operations component headquarters or a smaller unit that is controlled and/or supported by a main operations base. (JP 1-02) [Note: Army special operations forces term is "forward operational base."]

full spectrum operations

The range of operations Army forces conduct in war and military operations other than war. (FM 3-0) [Note: A new definition for this term is being staffed for the revision of FM 3-0. Upon publication of FM 3-0, the definition it contains will replace this definition.]

host nation

(joint) A nation that receives the forces and/or supplies of allied nations, coalition partners, and/or NATO organizations to be located on, to operate in, or to transit through its territory. (JP 1-02)

human intelligence

(Army) The collection of information by a trained human intelligence collector from people and their associated documents and media sources to identify elements, intentions, composition, strength, dispositions, tactics, equipment, personnel, and capabilities (FM 2-22.3). [Note: Trained HUMINT collectors are Soldiers holding military occupational specialties 97E, 351Y {formerly 351C}, 351M {formerly 351E}, 35E, and 35F, and Marines holding the specialty 0251.]

information environment

(joint) The aggregate of individuals, organizations or systems that collect, process, or disseminate or act on information. (JP 1-02)

information operations

(joint) The integrated employment of the core capabilities of eletronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception, and operations security, in concert with specified supporting and relted capabilities, to influence, disrupt, corrupt, or usurp adversarial human and automated decision making while protecting our own. (JP 1-02) (Army) The employment of the core capabilities of electronic warfare, computer network operations, psychological operations, military deception, and operations security, in concert with specified supporting and related capabilities, to affect and defend information and information systems and to influence decisionmaking. (FM 3-13)

insurgency

(joint) An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict. (JP 1-02)

intelligence discipline

(joint) A well-defined area of intelligence collection, processing, exploitation, and reporting using a specific category of technical or human resources. There are seven major disciplines: human intelligence, imagery intelligence, measurement and signature intelligence, signals intelligence, open-source intelligence, technical intelligence, and counterintelligence. [Note: The Army definition replaces "all-source analysis and production" with "open-source intelligence."] (JP 1-02)

intelligence preparation of the battlefield

The systematic, continuous process of analyzing the threat and environment in a specific geographic area. Intelligence preparation of the battlefield (IPB) is designed to support the staff estimate and military decision-making process. Most intelligence requirements are generated as a result of the IPB process and its interrelation with the decision-making process. (FM 34-130)

interagency coordination

(joint) Within the context of Department of Defense involvement, the coordination that occurs between elements of Department of Defense and engaged U.S. Government agencies for the purpose of achieving an objective. (JP 1-02)

intergovernmental organization

(joint) An organization created by a formal agreement (e.g. a treaty) between two or more governments. It may be established on a global, regional, or functional basis for wide-ranging or narrowly defined purposes. Formed to protect and promote national interests shared by member states. Examples include the United Nations, North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the African Union. (JP 1-02)

intuitive decisionmaking

(Army-Marine Corps) The act of reaching a conclusion which emphasizes pattern recognition based on knowledge, judgment, experience, education, intelligence, boldness, perception, and character. This approach focuses on assessment of the situation vice comparison of multiple options. (FM 6-0; MCRP 5-12A)

line of communications

(joint) A route, either land, water, and/or air, that connects an operating military force with a base of operations and along which supplies and military forces move. (JP 1-02)

line of operations

(joint) 1. A logical line that connects actions on nodes and/or decisive points related in time and purpose with an objective(s). 2. A physical line that defines the interior or exterior orientation of the force in relation to the enemy or that connects actions on nodes and/or decisive points related in time and space to an objective(s). (JP 1-02)

measure of effectiveness

(joint) A criterion used to assess changes in system behavior, capability, or operational environment that is tied to measuring the attainment of an end state, achievement of an objective, or creation of an effect. (JP 1-02)

measure of performance

(joint) A criterion to assess friendly actions that is tied to measuring task accomplishment. (JP 1-02)

mission command

The conduct of military operations through decentralized execution based upon mission orders for effective mission accomplishment. Successful mission command results from subordinate leaders at all echelons exercising disciplined initiative within the commander's intent to accomplish missions. It requires an environment of trust and mutual understanding. (FM 6-0)

narrative

The central mechanism, expressed in story form, through which ideologies are expressed and absorbed.

nongovernmental organization

(joint) A private, self-governing, not-for-profit organization dedicated to alleviating human suffering; and/or promoting education, health care, economic development, environmental protection, human rights, and conflict resolution; and/or encouraging the establishment of democratic institutions and civil society. (JP 1-02)

open-source intelligence

(joint) Information of potential intelligence value that is available to the general public. (JP 1-02)

operating tempo

The annual operating miles or hours for the major equipment system in a battalion-level or equivalent organization. Commanders use operating tempo to forecast and allocate funds for fuel and repair parts for training events and programs. (FM 7-0) [Usually OPTEMPO.]

operational environment

(joint) A composite of the conditions, circumstances, and influences that affect the employment of capabilities and bear on the decisions of the commander. (JP 1-02)

operational picture

A single display of relevant information within a commander's area of interest. (FM 3-0)

personnel tempo

The time a service member is deployed. [Usually PERSTEMPO.]

planning

The process by which commanders (and staffs, if available) translate the commander's visualization into a specific course of action for preparation and execution, focusing on the expected results. (FMI 5-0.1)

preparation

Activities by the unit before execution to improve its ability to conduct the operation, including, but not limited to, the following: plan refinement, rehearsals, reconnaissance, coordination, inspection, and movement. (FM 3-0)

reachback

(joint) The process of obtaining products, services, and applications, or forces, or equipment, or material from organizations that are not forward deployed. (JP 1-02)

riverine area

(joint) An inland or coastal area comprising both land and water, characterized by limited land lines of communications, with extensive water surface and/or inland waterways that provide natural routes for surface transportation and communications. (JP 1-02)

rules of engagement

(joint) Directives issued by competent military authority that delineate the circumstances and limitations under which United States forces will initiate and/or continue combat engagement with other forces encountered. (JP 1-02)

running estimate

A staff section's continuous assessment of current and future operations to determine if the current operation is proceeding according to the commander's intent and if future operations are supportable. (FMI 5-0.1)

security

(joint) 1. Measures taken by a military unit, an activity or installation to protect itself against all acts designed to, or which may, impair its effectiveness. 2. A condition that results from the establishment and maintenance of protective measures that ensure a state of inviolability from hostile acts or influences. (JP 1-02)

situational awareness

Knowledge of the immediate present environment, including knowledge of the factors of METT-TC. (FMI 5-0.1)

situational understanding

(Army) The product of applying analysis and judgment to the common operational picture to determine the relationship among the factors of METT-TC. (FM 3-0) (Marine Corps) Knowledge and understanding of the current situation which promotes timely, relevant, and accurate assessment of friendly, enemy, and other operations within the battlespace in order to facilitate decisionmaking. An informational perspective and skill that foster an ability to determine quickly the context and relevance of events that are unfolding. (MCRP 5-12A)

stability operations

(joint) An overarching term encompassing various military missions, tasks, and activities conducted outside the United States in coordination with other instruments of national power to maintain or reestablish a safe and secure environment, provide essential governmental services, emergency infrastructure reconstruction, and humanitarian relief. (JP 1-02)

staff estimate

See running estimate.

status of forces agreement

(joint) An agreement that defines the legal position of a visiting military force deployed in the territory of a friendly state. Agreements delineating the status of visiting military forces may be bilateral or multilateral. Provisions pertaining to the status of visiting forces may be set forth in a separate agreement, or they may form a part of a more comprehensive agreement. These provisions describe how the authorities of a visiting force may control members of that force and the amenability of the force or its members to the local law or to the authority of local officials. To the extent that agreements delineate matters affecting the relations between a military force and civilian authorities and population, they may be considered as civil affairs agreements. (JP 1-02)

strike

(joint) An attack to damage or destroy an objective or capability. (JP 1-02)

subordinates' initiative

The assumption of responsibility for deciding and initiating independent actions when the concept of operations or order no longer applies or when an unanticipated opportunity leading to the accomplishment of the commander's intent presents itself. (FM 6-0)

tempo

(Army) The rate of military action. (FM 3-0) (Marine Corps) The relative speed and rhythm of military operations over time with respect to the enemy. (MCRP 5-12A)

theater of war

(joint) Defined by the Secretary of Defense or the geographic combatant commander, the area of air, land, and water that is, or may become, directly involved in the conduct of the war. A theater of war does not normally encompass the geographic combatant commander's entire area of responsibility and may contain more than one theater of operations. (JP 1-02)

warfighting function

A group of tasks and systems (people, organizations, information, and processes) united by a common purpose that commanders use to accomplish missions and training objectives. (FMI 5-0.1)

working group

A temporary grouping of predetermined staff representatives who meet to coordinate and provide recommendations for a particular purpose or function. (FMI 5-0.1)

Annotated Bibliography

This bibliography is a tool for Army and Marine Corps leaders to help them increase their knowledge of insurgency and counterinsurgency. Reading what others have written provides a foundation that leaders can use to assess counterinsurgency situations and make appropriate decisions. The books and articles that follow are not the only good ones on this subject. The field is vast and rich. They are, however, some of the more useful for Soldiers and Marines. (Web sites were accessed during December 2006.)

THE CLASSICS

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Hoffer, Eric. *The True Believer: Thoughts on the Nature of Mass Movements*. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2002. (This book, originally published in 1951, explains why people become members of cults and similar groups.)

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